

Mr. MORRISON: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1674. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Ollie Patton; without amendment (Rept. No. 808). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MORRISON: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1851. A bill for the relief of the widow and three children of Greenfield Payne; with amendment (Rept. No. 809). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SCRIVNER: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2193. A bill for the relief of G. Hinders; with amendment (Rept. No. 810). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HOOK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2317. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Virginia M. Kiser; with amendment (Rept. No. 811). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HEDRICK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2529. A bill for the relief of Earl J. Shows; without amendment (Rept. No. 812). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. STIGLER: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2545. A bill for the relief of Florida Rhone Burch; without amendment (Rept. No. 813). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MORRISON: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2866. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Rita Chauvin Green; with amendment (Rept. No. 814). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BECKWORTH:

H. R. 3592. A bill to facilitate the construction of dormitories and other living quarters for married veterans receiving education or training under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. RIZLEY:

H. R. 3593. A bill relating to the disposition of public lands of the United States situated in the State of Oklahoma between the Cimarron base line and the north boundary of the State of Texas; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida:

H. R. 3594. A bill relating to emergency hospitalization of veterans; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. ENGLE of California:

H. R. 3595. A bill to authorize mining, milling, or smelting loans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. WELCH:

H. R. 3596. A bill to amend the Canal Zone Code; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. WINSTEAD:

H. R. 3597. A bill to make the point system in effect with respect to discharge or release from the Army applicable to the release of conscientious objectors from the work to which they have been assigned; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HARLESS of Arizona:

H. R. 3598. A bill authorizing annual payments to States, Territories, and insular governments, for the benefit of their local political subdivisions, based on the fair value of the national-forest lands situated therein, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. BEALL:

H. J. Res. 222. Joint resolution to amend Public Law No. 371, Seventy-eighth Congress; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. BLOOM:

H. J. Res. 223. Joint resolution to enable the United States to participate in the work of the Intergovernmental Committee on

Refugees, and to pay its share of the expenses of the Committee; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. VINSON:

H. Res. 304. Resolution authorizing additional clerical assistance and readjustment of salaries in the office of the Sergeant at Arms; to the Committee on Accounts.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States and the Surgeons General of the United States Army and Navy to consider the advisability of, and the special advantages to be derived from, establishing one or more military hospitals in mineral spring areas of California, and urging that affirmative action be taken in regard thereto; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Alabama, rescinding their adoption of House Joint Resolution 68, petitioning the Congress of the United States to call a convention for the purpose of proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which would place limitations on taxes which Congress may levy on incomes and on taxes, duties and levies which Congress may levy on transfers of property in contemplation of, at, or after death or by way of gift, except in time of war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

Mr. ALLEN of Louisiana introduced a bill (H. R. 3599) for the relief of Ama L. Normand, which was referred to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1005. By Mr. COCHRAN: Petition of Bert Sullivan and 297 other citizens of Missouri, protesting against the passage of any prohibition legislation by the Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1006. Also, petition of G. W. Cook and 320 other citizens of Missouri, protesting against the passage of any prohibition legislation by the Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1007. By Mr. GOODWIN: Petition of the General Court of Massachusetts to Congress to investigate the activities of the Federal Social Security Board with particular reference to the merit-system requirements; to the Special Committee to Investigate Executive Agencies.

1008. By the SPEAKER: Petition of various citizens of the parish of Caddo, State of Louisiana, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to their endorsement of House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1009. Also, petition of the crew of the steamship *Art Young*, Liberty ship, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to their endorsement of House bill 2346; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

1010. Also, petition of Stanley March and various citizens of Illinois, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the extension of the Price Control Act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1011. Also, petition of the York Baptist Association at Albion, Nebr., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to postponing action on compulsory training of youth for military service until after the end of World War II; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27, 1945

(Legislative day of Monday, June 25, 1945)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Father of all, Thou hast not forsaken us, though we pass through the fires of suffering and dwell in the valley of sorrow. As Thou hast strengthened our arm to strike with righteous force those who plot war to achieve their evil purposes, so now, we pray Thee, steel the will of united peoples to seek peace and to renounce all aggression by the sword. To all nations whose faces now turn toward a new world linked in fellowship, grant faith which removes mountains, hope which rises above frustration, patience which will bear the strain of waiting, good will which cannot be discouraged, and forgiveness for those who repent, as we ourselves ask to be forgiven. In the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Tuesday, June 26, 1945, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 184) to continue temporary increases in postal rates on first-class matter, and for other purposes; asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. DOUGHTON of North Carolina, Mr. COOPER, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. KNUTSON, and Mr. REED of New York were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 3550) making appropriations for the Military Establishment for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

THE SAN FRANCISCO CHARTER—SUGGESTED DEPARTMENT OF PEACE

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, with some of the other members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, I was privileged this morning to greet Secretary of State Stettinius, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] on their return to Washington. There was a goodly crowd present and a band. As these gentlemen came off the plane we were glad to note they were not worn out. They looked refreshed; they looked like men who had come from a far country but who had done a good job, and therefore felt refreshed. I think that is a

natural law of living—that one who does good naturally feels good.

Mr. President, on July 7, 1943, I spoke on the floor of the Senate in relation to a Department of Peace. I stated at that time that I craved for my Government the distinction of being the first Government on earth to establish a Secretary of Peace.

The establishment of such a secretariat would be heralded throughout the world, as was Woodrow Wilson's idea for a League of Nations. His great idea brought hope, but we know that the hope died, and the Second World War ensued.

The reason I speak particularly today about this thought is that last evening I happened to note that in the Washington Star, David Lawrence, that great thinker and American philosopher, made this statement:

Yes; President Truman will sign the United Nations Charter—

And, parenthetically, of course, we know that it was signed yesterday in Frisco by the members who were there representing the nations of the earth—the Senate will in due time ratify it—and then—

David Lawrence asks this question—and then what? Will the nations of the earth settle down to wait for a dispute to arise before bringing the machinery of the new league into action? Is that the way to prevent war—

He asks—

to let disputes develop over the years and see positions and prejudices harden, and then, when passions are high, try to find a way to cool them down?

Mr. President, it was with that thought in mind that I suggested on July 7, 1943, the creation of a Secretary of Peace, and in this very column, under a subhead reading "Senator WILEY's Idea," David Lawrence says:

Senator WILEY, of Wisconsin, Republican, had a good idea about this and made a speech about it in the Senate a year ago. He suggested that a Department of Peace be established, to concentrate and specialize on the maintenance of peace. Nothing came of it because at the time America was engrossed in war. Now the United Nations has set up an organization and the time has come for America to take the lead in establishing a special department of government to carry on the all-important work of our participation in such a league.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire article by David Lawrence be printed in the RECORD at this place.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF PEACE DECLARED UNITED STATES
NEED—WRITER WOULD FORM COMMISSION
HEADED BY STETTINIUS AND BYRNES

(By David Lawrence)

Yes; President Truman will sign the United Nations Charter, the Senate will ratify in due time—and then what? Will the nations of the world settle down to wait for a dispute to arise before bringing the machinery of the new league into action? Is that the way to prevent war—to let disputes develop over the years and see positions and prejudices harden, and then, when passions are high, try to find a way to cool them down?

Billions are spent for war and war preparations, but virtually nothing is spent to prevent war except when a crisis arises. Thus the State Department is in charge of our relations with foreign governments and has a multitude of business chores to do for American business and the individual with interests abroad, but there is no department of the Government which gives its undivided attention to the subject of peace.

SENATOR WILEY'S IDEA

Senator WILEY, of Wisconsin, Republican, had a good idea about this and made a speech about it in the Senate a year ago. He suggested that a Department of Peace be established, to concentrate and specialize on the maintenance of peace. Nothing came of it because at the time America was engrossed in war. Now the United Nations has set up an organization and the time has come for America to take the lead in establishing a special department of government to carry on the all-important work of our participation in such a league.

The American Commission to Preserve Peace might well be its name. It should consist not merely of representatives of the State Department, but also of the Treasury and Commerce Departments, as well as of both Houses of Congress. Such an over-all commission should have a special staff in the interest of efficiency, and to avoid any wires being crossed all communications should clear through the State Department. There is not the slightest reason why any duplication should occur between the State Department and the new commission. They can and should work together.

A man of Cabinet level should head up the American Commission to Preserve Peace and become thereby the head of the American delegation to the United Nations Conference. The first man to be given the post should be Edward R. Stettinius, who not only has served for nearly 2 years in the State Department and knows the background of that organization, but who has headed up the American commission at San Francisco. He now has made the acquaintance of diplomats throughout the world and knows the technique of conference and the meaning of the provisions of the new league's charter.

MORE THAN DOCUMENTS

With James F. Byrnes as Secretary of State and Mr. Stettinius as executive head of the American Commission to Preserve Peace, President Truman would be carrying into instant effect the desire of the American people to do more than just sign documents in order to prevent a third world war.

The chairmen of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee should be automatically members of the new commission which, of course, ought to have statutory sanction and be given a sizable appropriation by Congress. Such a department or commission with an adequate staff should constantly study and survey conditions, economic as well as political, throughout all countries in order to make reports to the American people of situations which, if aggravated, could become threats to the peace of the world.

Since moral force—and that means full publicity and a free press—is to be the chief instrument of prevention, inasmuch as major nations will not consent to be coerced by physical force or threats of such force, there is no reason why the American commission should not begin at once to exert such moral force.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, yesterday on the floor of the Senate I stated, in substance, that thinking people all over the world were very much heartened because they felt that now America was in the international picture to stay.

That provided a source of great hope and faith to the peoples of the earth, and they felt that, perhaps, under our leadership—and pray God we are adequate to that leadership—an international mechanism—not simply a gesture, not merely a piece of human machinery inadequate because of the lack of vision—will become vitalized and do away with the scourge of war.

So I say great hope is brought to the peoples of earth, but, as David Lawrence suggests, if we have a Secretary of Peace, if it is his job—and he suggests in his articles that Mr. Stettinius be the first Secretary of Peace—if it is his job to do that which is necessary to attain peace, instead of spending his time in terms of what armaments are necessary, and if he keeps his eyes focused on the problems of earth and is adequate to seeing to it that conciliation and cooperation remain in the picture, then great and lasting good will result.

Mr. President, I repeat what I said a few moments ago when I referred to what I said back in July 7, 1943: "I crave for my Government the distinction of being the first government on earth to establish a Secretary of Peace."

When the last World War was over our purpose was as noble then as it is now; Wilson was recognized as the apostle of freedom; hope was triumphant, as it is now; the idea that the world could federate for security and peace was lodged deeply in the hearts and souls of men. It is now. The real question is whether or not there is the vital spirit in the hearts and minds and souls of the peoples of earth so that when they return home and begin thinking about commerce and rebuilding shattered lives they will not forget the antidotes to the causes of war. That, Mr. President, is why the Secretary of Peace was mentioned in this article by David Lawrence, who was kind enough in the United States News of July 16 to allow me two pages to discuss this important idea.

I only wish that some good Democrat would take hold of it and present a resolution. Perhaps it would then lodge in fertile ground where it might grow.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I should like to thank the Senator from Wisconsin for intimating that there might be a "good" Democrat.

Mr. WILEY. I would not hesitate to use that adjective "good." I know only good Democrats. I associate with none others. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed following my remarks an article entitled "Wanted: A Department of Peace," written by me, and published in the United States News for July 16, 1943.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WANTED: A DEPARTMENT OF PEACE

(By ALEXANDER WILEY, United States Senator from Wisconsin)

There are two powerful forces in the history of mankind—the force of military might and moral force.

We are doing our utmost to apply physical force to the enemy.

But are we doing our utmost to apply moral force to achieve the beneficent ends we seek—namely, peace?

In the midst of war, human nature remains basic. Psychological influences are present in time of war as in time of peace. We admit this when we speak constantly of our own morale or of the morale of the enemy people.

Many persons believe that the only way to win a war is to apply the utmost of physical energy and to hate the enemy. Many persons think that peace of an enduring nature can be achieved by continuing to hate and by continuing to hold in subjugation a conquered people for all time.

What is little realized is that peoples who are proud and virile, peoples who are conscious of an injustice done them, will remain sullen and unconquerable. Their minds and energies will be fixed on the best way to achieve revenge. This does not permit reconciliation or rebuilding. It interferes with the resumption of normal trade and keeps alive the fires of war. It means that armaments must be constantly kept on a large scale. It means tremendous burdens of taxation.

We maintain always two departments of national defense—War and Navy. We should maintain a Department of Peace.

The chief responsibility of the War and Navy Departments is to maintain at all times the best instruments of war.

The chief responsibility of a Department of Peace would be to maintain at all times the best instruments of peace.

Many observers will say that a Department of State has this duty now, but the Department of State has many duties, including that of determining under the President the policy of the Government in relation to international problems. This Department conducts negotiations pertaining to the protection of American rights and interests and the promotion of beneficial intercourse between the United States and other countries. It must concern itself with many complicated legal questions in parts of the world whose problems do not relate to the preservation of peace. It also performs certain domestic duties.

If a separate department given over entirely to the work of maintaining peace between all nations were established, it might, of course, find itself at variance with other departments of our Government, and this would be a healthy thing because the interest of maintaining peace might conceivably supersede some national or selfish interest of a commercial nature.

We must begin to think in terms of international brotherhood rather than national selfishness. We must begin to examine the roots of discord and learn something about the seeds of international conflict and disunity, and how to antidote the causes—how to pull up the tares of war and plant the wheat of peace.

We must not wait till hostilities are over to start on this vital task. We must begin now because while we are united in the common cause of war, we see more clearly than we shall see in the future the need of common action and common purpose at all times.

We must begin to exert our moral force even now because it is now that we must recognize that a Third World War can be built on the foundations of hate and discord sown in World War II. We must begin now to prevent that Third World War. We must not assume that a simple set of treaty provisions will keep the peace.

Many people think we would have had a better era after the last World War if our forces had marched into Berlin. We have heard that comment often. Yet we forget that Germany was completely disarmed last time. And there were treaty provisions which required that she be kept disarmed. For more than 10 years after the last World War, Germany was in a state of virtual military

impotence. It was not until 1933 under Hitler that she really began to rearm.

We had treaties which provided that Germany should not rearm. But the Allied Nations were too indifferent to these symptoms of war. They were preoccupied with themselves. As for us, we assumed that Britain and France were closer to Germany than we were. We took it for granted they would be alert to their own defense. But evidently everybody's business was nobody's business and today we have become involved in another World War.

Can we afford to let matters drift again? Should we not have a Department of Peace which shall fearlessly expose by means of the power of publicity and public opinion the trends toward war? Should we not have permanent, active, alert machinery of mediation and conciliation? Shouldn't we make it our business to take an interest in any dispute anywhere which might lead to bloodshed? And would the cost of a Department of Peace per year be as much as one-tenth of the cost of a single battleship? We can certainly set up a Department of Peace just as logically as we set up a system of insurance for our lives or our property.

We should organize a Department of Peace now not only to set in motion a mechanism for dealing with the problems at the peace table but to show the whole world that we mean to be energetic about peace even after the peace treaties are signed, and we should begin now to educate our people as to the basic reasons why friction between nations occurs.

A very important function of a Department of Peace would be to prevent the maintenance of any censorship of the press in times of peace. It is because peoples are misled by their own misrulers and forbidden to learn the truth about their neighbors across international boundaries that the seeds of war-hate are sown. An internationally free press is a prerequisite of peace. And since we are committed to the "four freedoms," we can start now through a Department of Peace to urge upon every nation that there be no censorship in times of peace.

We must go further even during this war. We must begin an examination of the basic reasons why Hitler and Mussolini were able to achieve a dictatorship. We must examine the economic causes of dictatorship and determine to what extent the acts of other nations bring on economic depression in the countries that have accepted dictatorship as a desperate last resort.

We must today begin to reach the hearts of enemy peoples. We must persuade them of the futility of clinging to their dictators. But what do we hold out for them? Imprisonment? Enslavement? Will not proud men fight to the bitter end rather than surrender or overthrow their rulers if by giving up they become subjugated for life? Must we not really emancipate them from their own dictators and prove to them that we mean to deal fairly, equitably, and in a civilized manner with them when they overthrow their leaders? We must make it clear that we intend to put on trial and to execute the criminal leaders responsible for the outrages against mankind, even if the number runs into hundreds. We must ferret out the instigators of these crimes against humanity. But as for the millions of men, women, and children, whose patriotism was whipped up to untold heights, by untruth and misrepresentation—have we only bitterness and permanent hate to offer them? The world cannot be free of war so long as we institutionalize hate and discord. We must instead institutionalize peace and unity. We can do this by the power of example, by the moral force of human beings everywhere who can offer a hand of friendship to conquered peoples and ask them to build with us a new world.

Many tens of thousands of lives—our soldiers and sailors and marines, too—will be

saved if this war is shortened. It can be shortened not by relaxing our physical force one moment, but by intensifying at the same time our moral force. We must reach the hearts of the German and Italian peoples. We must find in the residue of Christians in Germany and Italy—and there are many of them—the nucleus for reaching the others. We must speak to them constantly over the air, through the press, and above all, through the pronouncements of our statesmen. We must give an outline of the peace that is to come. Shall it be an outline that has in it no provision for the conquered and a division of material things only for the conquerors?

We cannot build a world of peace on the foundations of selfishness and hate. We can build a new world only on the foundations of unselfishness and friendship.

The moral force of this Nation which is at heart an unselfish Nation has not as effectively mobilized in this war as in the last war. We are behind in our program of peace. We have expressed in general terms our war aims, but we have not made definite our approach to enemy peoples. And it is to win them over—it was done before and it can be done again—that we must direct our major efforts today.

Moral force to be effective must be honest. It must not make pledges that are specious on their face. It must bring forth sincerity and genuine faith to make valid our words and our plans. We can shorten the war if we begin now to exert our moral force. And we can prevent World War III if we begin now to build the true foundations of international friendship. It is so large a responsibility that it needs the time and energy of an entire department of the Government. Let us establish a Department of Peace as a manifestation of our highest purpose for this year and all years.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

SUSPENSION OF DEPORTATION OF ALIENS

A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report stating all of the facts and pertinent provisions of law in the cases of 77 individuals whose deportation has been suspended for more than 6 months under the authority vested in him together with a statement of the reason for such suspension (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Immigration.

ADDITION OF PUBLIC DOMAIN LAND TO SUMMIT LAKE INDIAN RESERVATION

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to reserve certain land on the public domain in Nevada for addition to the Summit Lake Indian Reservation (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

PERSONNEL REQUIREMENTS

A letter from the Administrator of the Office of Price Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, an estimate of personnel requirements for that Office, for the quarter ending June 30, 1945 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Civil Service.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate petitions and memorials, which were referred as indicated:

By the PRESIDENT pro tempore:

Resolutions of the General Court of Massachusetts; to the Committee on Finance:

"Resolution memorializing Congress to investigate the activities of the Federal Social Security Board with particular reference to the merit system requirements

"Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts hereby memorializes the Congress of the United States to proceed as promptly as may be in an investigation of the

activities of the Federal Social Security Board with particular reference to the merit system requirements; and be it further

"Resolved, That the joint standing committee on civil service of the general court, or such members thereof as said committee may designate, together with the director of civil service and the attorney general, or an assistant attorney general designated by him, be authorized to travel to the city of Washington, at an expense not to exceed \$1,500, for the purpose of there presenting to the select committee of the House of Representatives of the Congress to investigate acts of Executive agencies which exceed their authority, the grievances of the Commonwealth in the premises; and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the State secretary to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress and to the Members thereof from this Commonwealth."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

"Senate Joint Resolution 20

"Joint resolution relative to endorsing and urging the passage of H. R. 2081, to permit the use of live decoys in the taking of ducks

"Whereas wild ducks are doing damage to agriculture in California, such damage to rice, lettuce, and other farm crops amounting to more than \$1,000,000 per year; and

"Whereas if duck hunters were allowed to use live or other decoys from blinds, the chance of obtaining a few birds would be made at least possible; and

"Whereas there is now pending before Congress H. R. 2081, to permit the use of six live decoys to each blind in the taking of ducks: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California (jointly), That we hereby endorse and urge the passage of H. R. 2081 of the Seventy-ninth Congress, first session, and respectfully request the Senators and Representatives from California in the Congress of the United States to give their support to this bill; and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded by the secretary of the senate to the President of the United States, the President pro tempore of the Senate of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, the United States Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Finance:

"Senate Joint Resolution 22

"Joint resolution relative to amendment of the Federal Social Security Act in respect to old-age assistance

"Whereas the present provisions of the Federal Social Security Act governing grants to States for old-age assistance are in need of reconsideration and liberalization, particularly that provision which requires the State agency, in determining need, to take into consideration any other income and resources of an individual claiming such assistance, including his earnings, and which is interpreted and applied to require the deduction of earnings of the recipient from the grant of assistance which he would otherwise be eligible to receive; and

"Whereas it is the consensus of the people and the Legislature of the State of California that recipients of old-age assistance ought to be permitted to supplement that assistance by their labor to a reasonable extent without deduction of their earnings, to the amount of \$20 per month, from the aid or assistance provided to them; that such

permission would not only improve the economic condition of the recipients, but afford them a share of the happiness and enhanced self-respect which results from participation in honest and needed work; and that it would make available, at this time when manpower is so sorely needed, an additional substantial working force; and

"Whereas we are informed that the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States is presently engaged in an extensive social security study, and that numerous bills have been introduced in Congress directed to the liberalization of the Social Security Act in this and other desirable respects, including H. R. 65 by Mr. LANE, H. R. 637 by Mr. WICKERSHAM, H. R. 2582 by Mr. BUNKER, and H. R. 2964 by Mr. ANDERSON: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, by the Senate and the Assembly of the State of California (jointly), That the Legislature of the State of California hereby urges and memorializes Congress to continue the study of needed amendments to the Social Security Act, and to enact such amendments to that act as may be necessary to permit recipients of old-age assistance to earn up to \$20 monthly without deduction of such earnings from the amount of assistance to which they would otherwise be entitled; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of California does hereby endorse those proposals now before Congress looking to the liberalization of the Social Security Act, and urges their favorable consideration; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of the senate is hereby directed to send copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

Two joint resolutions of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

"Senate Joint Resolution 27

"Joint resolution relative to current movements for a lenient peace with Japan, and memorializing the President and Congress to insist upon complete and unconditional surrender.

"Whereas rumors are now prevalent that preliminary peace overtures by Japan are in progress by way of sounding out neutral governments and, in one reported instance, by approaching an American diplomat in a neutral capital for the purpose of discussing peace possibilities; and

"Whereas there are further indications that Japan, in its efforts to obtain a more lenient peace, is attempting to sow seeds of disunity and suspicion between the United States and Great Britain on the one hand, and our great ally, Russia, on the other, by intimations that Great Britain and the United States will need a buffer against Communist Russia, and that Russia will require a like buffer against the capitalistic nations, which role Japan would be willing to assume in the so-called interests of world peace; and

"Whereas observers have detected an undertone of Japanese propaganda surrounding the United Nations Conference on International Organization, manifesting itself in the nationalistic movements and economic hopes of Asiatic contingents who are reluctant to merge with western civilization and still harbor resentment at old wrongs from Caucasian overlords; and

"Whereas these contingents, desiring freedom both from Japanese militarism and from prewar Caucasian influence, have expressed hopes of a Japan which is subdued militarily but left with industrial strength to serve as

a guide for their own economic progress and as a chief source of trade; and

"Whereas if compromise terms of conditional surrender are acceded to and Japan is enabled to maintain the remnants of her economic and political strength, she will be in a position to recover quickly from the ravages of war she has instituted; and

"Whereas unless Japan is utterly crushed and broken in this war and her power to make war forever destroyed, the Japanese people will regard defeat as a temporary set-back and, in accordance with their fanatical faith that they are destined by their gods to conquer the world, will begin once again to build for another ruthless attempt at world conquest; and

"Whereas heretofore the United States Government has been adamant in its demand for a decisive and conclusive victory upon terms of unconditional surrender, so essential to the future well-being of the world: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California (jointly), That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President and the Congress of the United States to reject any compromise peace proposals which may be offered by or in behalf of Japan, and to insist upon complete and unconditional surrender; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary or the senate is directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the President pro tempore of the Senate of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

"Assembly Joint Resolution 45

"Joint resolution relative to memorializing the President, the Secretary of State, and the Congress to retain full control over Japanese owned or mandated islands in the Pacific which heretofore have been, or hereafter may be, captured by the United States in the course of the war

"Whereas numerous Japanese owned or mandated islands in the Pacific have been or hereafter will be captured by the United States in the course of the war; and

"Whereas efforts are being made by influences detrimental to the best interests of our country to transfer said islands, taken by us from the Japanese at bloody cost, to a so-called trusteeship dominated by foreign powers, thus depriving the United States of exclusive control of said islands; and

"Whereas it would be detrimental to the interests of the United States to allow the Pacific islands to be under the control of any foreign group; and

"Whereas the American people are demanding that these islands be retained as our outer line of defense and strongly resent any proposal to place these islands under foreign control: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature of California hereby respectfully urges the representatives of the United States to stand firm for American rights so that no foreign power or group of powers may intervene in the management or control of said Japanese-owned or mandated islands and that the United States retain full control thereof for the protection of our country against the aggression of any foreign power or group of powers in the future; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of the senate is directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the President

pro tempore of the Senate of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce:

"Senate Joint Resolution 28

"Joint resolution relative to memorializing Congress to enact H. R. 2536, Seventy-ninth Congress, first session, relating to the regulation of transportation companies

"Whereas the National Congress in the Transportation Act of 1940 specifically declared a national transportation policy to provide for fair and impartial regulation of rail, water, and highway carriers and declared that the Interstate Commerce Commission should recognize and preserve the inherent advantages of each method of transportation and should promote safe, adequate, economical, and efficient common carrier services, foster sound, economic conditions in transportation, and maintain reasonable rates without unjust discrimination, undue preferences or, unfair, competitive practices; and

"Whereas the welfare of the State of California in a large measure depends upon the several modes of transportation thus regulated to transport from this State to eastern markets the products of its fields, fisheries, mines, and factories, and this State is therefore vitally interested in the effective administration by the Interstate Commerce Commission of the national transportation policy of Congress; and

"Whereas the specialized nature of California's productive capacities, both industrial and agricultural, can only find outlet in markets beyond the boundaries of this State; and

"Whereas some confusion and uncertainty exists as to how and by whom Federal regulations of rates and services of common carriers should be administered and whether or not common carriers and shippers, both producers and consumers may consult and confer with regard to coordinated and efficient through transportation rates and practices; and

"Whereas there has been introduced in the Congress of the United States, H. R. 2536, which will unequivocally confer upon the Interstate Commerce Commission complete jurisdiction to supervise, approve, reject, and otherwise control all joint and cooperative arrangements and agreements between common carriers and between common carriers and shippers, and between joint agencies and associations of common carriers respecting the rates and services of all such common carriers; and

"Whereas the enactment of said H. R. 2536 will remove and set at rest the confusion and uncertainty presently existing with regard to the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission under said national transportation policy: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California (jointly), That the Legislature of the State of California hereby memorializes the Congress of the United States of America to enact H. R. 2536 in order that the powers and authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission may be clarified and confirmed without further unnecessary delay or confusion; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of the senate is hereby directed to send copies of this resolution to the office of the President of the United States, and to each Member of the Senate and House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States from California."

Two joint resolutions of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Military Affairs:

"Senate Joint Resolution 23

"Joint resolution relative to memorializing the President and Congress of the United States and the Surgeons General of the United States Army and Navy to consider the advisability of, and the special advantages to be derived from establishing one or more military hospitals in mineral spring areas of California, and urging that affirmative action be taken in regard thereto

"Whereas as World War II continues, it becomes increasingly evident that American casualties to soldiers and sailors will be in excess of one million; and

"Whereas soldiers and sailors who have received wounds or have been otherwise physically or mentally disabled are being returned in increasing numbers to the United States for convalescent and rehabilitation treatment, to make possible their return to the armed forces or to civilian life; and

"Whereas medical experience, during many years, has demonstrated the great value of mineral spring or properly conducted spa treatment for patients suffering from nervous and other physical and mental disorders; and

"Whereas California possesses many areas easy of access, with climatic and environmental conditions of highest order, in which treatment procedures such as those carried on in Saratoga Springs in New York and in Hot Springs National Park in Arkansas could be easily established; and

"Whereas additional governmental hospitals are still being authorized and erected by the military authorities: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California (jointly) at this fifty-seventh regular session of the legislature, That the President and Congress of the United States and the Surgeons General of the United States Army and United States Navy are hereby respectfully memorialized to consider the advisability of, and the special advantages to be derived from, establishing one or more military hospitals in mineral spring areas in the State of California, where in healthful surroundings and with appropriate spa structures and equipment, the convalescence, health, and rehabilitation of large numbers of invalided soldiers and sailors could be more effectively promoted and their return to useful military or civilian life be more definitely assured; and be it further

"Resolved, That as a result of such considerations, affirmative action be taken to accomplish the foregoing purposes; and be it further

"Resolved, That the attention of the President and Congress of the United States and of the Surgeons General of the Army and Navy is hereby called and redirected to Senate Joint Resolution No. 12, unanimously adopted by the Fifty-fifth California Legislature (Cal. Stats. 1943, Res. Ch. 52), on this same subject, copies of which resolution were transmitted to them upon its adoption; and be it further

"Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly is directed to transmit copies of this resolution, and of the senate joint resolution of the fifty-fifth legislature hereunto annexed, to the President of the United States, the Surgeons General of the United States Army and the United States Navy, to the President pro tempore of the Senate of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States; and that the Senators and Representatives from California be respectfully requested to urge such action."

"Senate Joint Resolution 32

"Joint resolution relative to memorializing the Congress of the United States to investigate through its appropriate committee the proposed construction by the War Department of an ammunition-loading facility in the county of Marin and to demand of the War Department that activities in connection with the said proposal be discontinued pending such investigation

"Whereas the War Department of the United States is contemplating the construction of major ammunition storage and loading depots in the central San Francisco Bay area; and

"Whereas it is planned specifically that an ammunition-loading depot with facilities for loading of four large ammunition ships at one time, will be located at California Point in the county of Marin, and that a magazine storage area will be located on 101 Highway opposite Hamilton Field Army Air Base in the said county, requiring the condemnation of 3,603 acres of the finest residential sites and 2,299 acres of the most desirable dairying lands in the State; and

"Whereas explosions such as occurred at Port Chicago, Halifax, and Calcutta, have demonstrated that such operations should be located as far as possible from major centers of population and industry; and

"Whereas the proposed location would be within 2 miles of San Quentin State Prison, within 3½ miles of major gasoline-loading docks at Point Richmond, within 4 miles of the Navy's gasoline and oil-storage depot at Point Molate, within 6 miles of major shipyards and oil refineries in Richmond, within 9 miles of Treasure Island where are stationed over 70,000 Navy personnel, within 9 miles of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge, within 5 miles of the Golden Gate Bridge, and within less than 2 miles of the Marinship plant constructing Navy tankers at Sausalito, and would adjoin two important Navy installations at California City;

"Whereas over 100,000 people reside within a radius of 6 miles of the proposed ammunition-loading site, and over 500,000 within 12 miles of the site, in addition to the war plant, transportation, and armed forces facilities mentioned above; and

"Whereas claims were paid for damage resulting from the Port Chicago disaster involving the explosion of but one ship, as far as 24 miles away, and it is plain that a major explosion at the loading sites contemplated would paralyze the central bay area with tremendous property damage and possibly great loss of life; and

"Whereas the Marin Municipal Water District, the public agency supplying the only available water for domestic use of the 78,000 population of Marin County, has by official action after thorough study notified the Army that the water necessary for the personnel and other use of such bases cannot be furnished; and

"Whereas the appropriation of approximately 10 square miles of residential and potential residential areas in this suburban district would, without considering the hazard involved, constitute a blight upon this area; and

"Whereas it has been demonstrated that other more appropriate, more convenient, and more practical sites in less hazardous locations are available, and whereas the present facilities at Benicia are accessible to three transcontinental railroads and to deep-water channels while the proposal contemplated would involve the transportation of munitions directly past the Benicia facilities and over an additional 50 miles of single-track railway on which are located two tunnels and which involve various lateral railway connections; and

"Whereas it is apparent that the construction contemplated cannot be completed in less than 1 year's time and therefore is not essential to the immediate demands of the war in the Pacific and seems to bear closer relationship to the permanent intentions of the War Department upon this subject: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of California (jointly), That the Congress of the United States is hereby memorialized to cause through its House Committee on Military Affairs, or any other appropriate committee, the immediate investigation of the proposed facilities and the reasons and need therefor and the comparative availability of other sites for the purposes contemplated, whether they be for the immediate prosecution of the war in the Pacific or for a long-term program of Army preparedness; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Congress, or the California Representatives therein, or the appropriate committee which may undertake such investigation, be and it is hereby requested to make demand upon the Secretary of War that further activity in the matter of the afore-mentioned ammunition storage and loading facilities be discontinued pending such investigation; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of the senate is hereby directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the Speaker of the House of Representatives; the President pro tempore of the Senate; to the Honorable CLARENCE F. LEA, Representative from the First California District; and to every Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States; and to the Honorable ANDREW J. MAY, chairman of the said House Committee on Military Affairs."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys:

"Senate Joint Resolution 21

"Joint resolution relative to memorializing Congress to support H. R. 2867 and S. 868, authorizing annual payments to States, for the benefit of their local political subdivisions, based on the fair value of the national-forest lands situated therein

"Whereas stable income is essential to the efficient conduct of local functions of government; and

"Whereas the contributions to costs of local governments by national forest lands as presently authorized by section 500 of title 16 of the United States Code are fluctuating by reason of the basis upon which such contributions are calculated and determined; and

"Whereas, inadequacies in such contributions exist where national forest lands yield little or no current revenues pending their restoration to economic productivity or because of deferment of utilization of their natural resources is necessitated by sound principles of resource management and economy; and

"Whereas, to promote stability of local income and to avert such fluctuations and inadequacies there are now pending before Congress H. R. 2867, by Representative CORMIER, of Mississippi, and a companion bill, S. 868, by Senator CORDON, of Oregon, authorizing annual payments to States, for the benefit of their local political subdivisions, based on the fair value of the national forest lands situated therein; and

"Whereas under such proposal the annual payments by the United States to the States, for distribution to counties, by reason of the existence therein of areas of national forest land, would be at the rate of 2 percent of the fair value of the national forest lands as determined and certified by the Secretary of Agriculture in the manner therein provided, such fair value as initially determined to be subject to annual adjustments, with a rede-

termination of fair value to be made by him at 10-year intervals; and

"Whereas it is desirable that such proposal should include authorization for similar payments based on the fair market value of national parks and other lands owned by the Federal Government and so situated; and

"Whereas, such proposal, if amended to authorize similar payments on national parks and other lands owned by the Federal Government, would embody an equitable, stable and practicable basis of contribution and would avert substantially fluctuations and inadequacies in contributions as presently determined and authorized; Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California (jointly), That Congress is hereby respectfully memorialized to support H. R. 2867 and S. 868 of the Seventy-ninth Congress, first session, with suitable amendments to authorize similar payments on national parks and other lands owned by the Federal Government, to the end that the purposes therein sought to be accomplished may be enacted into law; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of the senate is directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the President pro tempore of the Senate of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, to each Senator and Congressman from California in the Congress of the United States, and to the Honorable CLAUDE R. WICKARD, Secretary of Agriculture of the United States."

A resolution adopted by the national executive committee of the Twenty-ninth Division Association, Baltimore, Md., favoring retention of Gen. George C. Marshall as Chief of Staff of the United States Army at least until the termination of the war against Japan; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

BRETTON WOODS AGREEMENT— PETITIONS FROM ILLINOIS

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, this morning I was presented with three volumes of petitions signed by thousands of citizens of Chicago, Ill., praying for the enactment of Senate bill 540, to provide for the participation of the United States in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which is now pending before the Committee on Banking and Currency. The petitions were presented to me by Mrs. EMILY TAFT DOUGLAS, Representative at Large from Illinois, and the signatures have been obtained by the Illinois Bretton Woods Committee, which is a group of independent citizens of my State who are intensely interested in this monetary movement. I ask unanimous consent to present these three volumes of petitions and that they be referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

There being no objection, the petitions presented by Mr. Lucas were received and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

RESOLUTIONS BY NEBRASKA STOCK GROWERS ASSOCIATION

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, on June 14, 15, and 16 the Nebraska Stock Growers Association held their fifty-sixth annual business meeting at O'Neill, Nebr. This is one of the most important and active cattle producers' associations in the United States. Their membership comes mainly from the famous Sand Hills section of Nebraska, where are located some of the largest cattle ranches

of America. In addition to maintaining a very active association, they publish monthly one of the leading trade journals of the industry. I ask unanimous consent to present the resolutions adopted at the O'Neill meeting and that they be published in the body of the RECORD and properly referred, as they express the opinion of the leaders in the cattle industry, on such important current subjects as subsidies, ceiling and floor prices, Federal controls, and a number of other items of interest to Members of Congress.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the resolutions presented by the Senator from Nebraska will be received and appropriately referred.

To the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE NEBRASKA STOCK GROWERS ASSOCIATION, HELD AT O'NEILL, NEBR., JUNE 14, 15, 16, 1945

MEAT BOARD

We endorse the work of the National Livestock and Meat Board. They have rendered a valuable service to our armed forces in teaching our Army and Navy personnel to cook, prepare, and handle meat, and have it kept in its proper place in the American diet by demonstrating its nutritional value.

We also extend our thanks to the various agencies on the central markets who have collected fees for the National Livestock and Meat Board.

To the Committee on Banking and Currency:

SUBSIDIES

Subsidies, as used in our present food-price control, are inflationary and dangerous. The United States Treasury has already paid more than three-fourths of a billion dollars, only to leave money in the hands of people to encourage black-market operations.

We urge Congress to provide a plan that will withdraw these payments in a gradual and orderly manner and at a time when there is consumer purchasing power that will keep consumption at a high point and at prices that will maintain the stability of the cattle industry.

INCREASED CEILINGS

Recent changes in the beef program have been of little benefit to the feeder as the greater portion of the payments go to the processors. We, therefore, urge a fair increase in the retail price of A and double A beef, so that feed-lot operators will be encouraged in the production of finished beef.

FEDERAL CONTROLS

Government control of meat and meat prices is now confused and impossible of understanding due to duplicating and overlapping agencies. The duplication and lack of this control authority is responsible for a complete lack of public confidence, for black-market operations, and for the shortage of meat.

We commend President Truman for his wisdom in selecting Hon. CLINTON P. ANDERSON as Secretary of Agriculture, and we urge Congress to make Secretary ANDERSON the over-all authority in matters of food distribution, processing, ceilings, prices, etc.

SUPPORT PRICES

Suggestions have been made that a support-price program would provide a means of cushioning the inevitable postwar adjustment in cattle prices. Price support and production control, of necessity, must go hand in hand. We, therefore, oppose any price-support program as further regimen-

tation of our industry which we believe to be undesirable and impractical, and we urge our members to adhere to sound business practices and forego the lure of a price-support program.

To the Committee on Finance:

TARIFF

We believe that the postwar world will look to the United States for international economic leadership. As our own economy must be preserved, we urge Nebraska's delegation in Congress to exert every effort toward the maintenance of adequate tariff protection.

NATIONAL LIVESTOCK TAX COMMITTEE

We urge the continuation and support of the National Live Stock Tax Committee in their efforts in clarifying the regulations of the Internal Revenue office applying to fixed inventory methods in connection with sales of breeding herds, and to other tax matters.

We wish to extend our appreciation to those who have given their time and served on this committee.

To the Committee on Foreign Relations:

SANITARY EMBARGO

Economic conditions in the postwar period may be conducive to renewed attempts to modify our country's sanitary embargo against the importation of meat and meat products from countries where foot and mouth disease is known to exist. The embargo does not discriminate against any country, but operates only to protect American livestock and the American public from the ruinous effects of foot and mouth disease. Our own experience and the very recent experience of England in importing meat from infected countries prove the necessity of continued vigilance and we urge Congress and all responsible Federal officials to maintain the sanitary embargo in its present form.

To the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation:

The Nebraska Stock Growers Association is opposed to the creation of a Missouri Valley Authority, as proposed in the Murray and Gillette bills and as recommended by the President.

The sound and orderly development of the river and its tributaries can be achieved by other and less drastic steps. The Pick and Sloan plans now pending in Congress, can be reconciled to form the framework for river development through existing agencies, which we approve.

To the Committee on Interstate Commerce:

WESTERN MEAT RATE CASE

The favorable decision in the Western Meat Rate case accomplishes one of the goals of our association. We express our most sincere appreciation to Mr. Harry B. Coffee, president of the Union Stock Yards Co., and his staff for their effective and intelligent support given us during the progress of these hearings. We also express our thanks to the members of Nebraska State Railway Commission for their statesmanlike efforts on behalf of all Nebraska's people.

FREIGHT RATE CONTROL PASSED

It is extremely important to the livestock industry of this country that the railroads enjoy postwar stability and that under regulations of the Interstate Commerce Commission they shall continue to provide the Nation with efficient transportation service. The carrier-shipper method of considering rates through railroad traffic associations has been in active operation for more than 40 years, and the very essence of their operation is in giving publicity to changes in rates, charges, and practices, no matter by whom proposed, and

offering opportunity for free and open discussion. The arrangements thus set up for consideration of changes in rates, charges, and practices have proven satisfactory to the livestock shippers who pay the bills and have proven satisfactory to the public body to which Congress has entrusted the day-by-day exercise of its power to regulate transportation.

There is pending in Congress H. R. 2536, introduced by Representative A. L. BULWINKLE, of North Carolina. The purpose of this bill is to clarify questions raised as to how and by whom Federal regulation of rates and services of common carriers shall be administered, whether by an experienced agency of Congress, the Interstate Commerce Commission, which has a consistent and continuing policy, or the confusing and conflicting determinations of various courts under the antitrust laws: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Nebraska Stock Growers Association at their annual meeting at O'Neill, Nebr., June 14-16, 1945, That the Bulwinkle bill be enacted to further clarify the intent of Congress that regulation of carriers under the Interstate Commerce Act is the duty of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the several State regulatory commissions, to the end that the national transportation policy as set forth in the Transportation Act of 1940 shall be upheld.

Ordered to lie on the table:

WAR EFFORT

Thousands of our sons and daughters are in uniform fighting that American freedom may live on, and we again pledge our loyalty and devotion to every war effort of our Government.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Be it resolved, That all the acts and proceedings of the executive council of the Nebraska Stock Growers Association since the last annual meeting, held June 10, 1944, as set forth in the respective minutes of the meetings of the Nebraska Stock Growers Association, and the acts of the officers in the furtherance thereof, be and the same hereby are fully ratified, approved, and confirmed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. WALSH, from the Committee on Naval Affairs:

H. R. 1309. A bill to provide reimbursement for personal property lost, damaged, or destroyed as the result of an explosion at the naval air station, Norfolk, Va., on September 17, 1943; with amendments (Rept. No. 419); and

H. R. 3269. A bill further amending the part of the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes," approved June 4, 1920, as amended, relating to the conservation, care, custody, protection, and operation of the naval petroleum and oil-shale reserves; without amendment (Rept. No. 420).

By Mr. FULBRIGHT, from the Committee on Education and Labor:

S. 714. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties, and for other purposes," as amended; with amendments (Rept. No. 421).

By Mr. FERGUSON, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

S. 937. A bill to amend the act suspending until June 30, 1945, the running of the statute of limitations applicable to violations of the antitrust laws so as to continue such suspension until June 30, 1946; without amendment (Rept. No. 422).

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma, from the Committee on Appropriations:

H. R. 3550. A bill making appropriations for the Military Establishment for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes; with amendments (Rept. No. 423).

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on June 26, 1945, he presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

S. 463. An act to amend section 927 of the Code of Law of the District of Columbia, relating to insane criminals; and

S. 607. An act to improve salary and wage administration in the Federal service; to provide pay for overtime and for night and holiday work; to amend the Classification Act of 1923, as amended; to bring about a reduction in Federal personnel and to establish personnel ceilings for Federal departments and agencies; to require a quarterly analysis of Federal employment; and for other purposes.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CHAVEZ:

S. 1197. A bill to authorize the War Food Administrator or the Secretary of Agriculture to adjust boundary disputes by settling claims to certain so-called Sebastian Martin grant lands, in the State of New Mexico; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. FERGUSON:

S. 1198. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to sell certain property in the State of Michigan now occupied by the Weather Bureau and to acquire land in the State of Michigan for the erection of a Weather Bureau station; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. BAILEY:

S. 1199. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina to hear, determine, and render judgment upon any claim arising out of the death of L. W. Freeman; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MURRAY (for himself, Mr. HAYDEN, and Mr. MCFARLAND):

S. 1200. A bill to authorize mining, milling, or smelting loans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. TOBEY:

S. 1201. A bill for the relief of Arthur F. Downs; to the Committee on Claims.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H. R. 3550) making appropriations for the Military Establishment for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

INCREASES IN POSTAL RATES ON FIRST-CLASS MATTER

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOEV in the chair) laid before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives announcing its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 184) to continue temporary increases in postal rates on first-class matter, and for other purposes, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments, agree to the request of the House

for a conference, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator indicate what this legislation is?

Mr. GEORGE. This is the joint resolution extending first-class postal rates. The Senate made two amendments, which the House disagreed to, and requested a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the motion of the Senator from Georgia is agreed to; and the Chair appoints the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. BUTLER] conferees on the part of the Senate.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. REED, Mr. President, the Seventy-seventh Congress by resolution created a Special Committee to Investigate Production, Transportation, and Use of Fuels in areas west of the Mississippi River. The committee was extended through the Seventy-eighth Congress, and was extended up to June 30 of this year by the Seventy-ninth Congress.

It is necessary for the committee to hold one further meeting so as to conclude its work, as I hope. It has held numerous meetings, of which record has been made, and has submitted an interim report. A meeting of the committee has been arranged to be held in Kansas City on June 29 to consider matters relating to Missouri and Kansas, and I ask unanimous consent of the Senate to be absent for the purpose of attending that meeting, and for a few days after the meeting in order to give attention to matters which are crowding for my personal attention. I have not been home since the last election.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, leave is granted the Senator from Kansas.

TRIBUTE TO HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON FROM THE SCOTTSBLUFF (NEBR.) DAILY STAR-HERALD

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President there appeared in a recent issue of the Scottsbluff, Nebr., Daily Star-Herald, an editorial that was very commendatory of President Truman in his selection of the Honorable CLINTON P. ANDERSON to become Secretary of Agriculture. The editorial also speaks most highly of Mr. ANDERSON, and I request that the editorial, which is short, be printed in the body of the RECORD immediately following my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. ANDERSON'S OPPORTUNITY

The Truman administration has made friends for itself with a frank admission that the food situation is not good, and that most of the current evils, if not all, are attributable to bungling by Government agencies. Unfortunately, too many of those who did the bungling are still in position of power, and are working at cross-purposes with the

administration's effort to untangle the snarls.

Bungling has been painfully evident in bringing on the sugar crisis with which the Nation is faced. There was bungling in forcing a decline in domestic production. There was bungling in permitting Cuban interests to reduce production in a price-juggling manipulation.

Representative ANDERSON, a westerner who will become Secretary of Agriculture July 1, as well as over-all director of food production and distribution, is asking now that the sugar-beet acreage be increased. Unfortunately, the hour is no late that few areas can do anything about it in 1945. The best thing he can do is to clean out, and quickly all of the enemies of the domestic beet-sugar industry who flourished and rose to power in the Ickes and Wallace camps of the Government. If he will do that, and keep on encouraging production of more sugar, Mr. ANDERSON will make some rapid strides in overcoming the critical situation now existing, and will also do much toward building up the prosperity of our West.

QUESTIONS ABOUT GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES BY E. A. DETRICK

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I received a protest today from E. A. Detrick, of Caldwell, Kans., asking me some questions that I am unable to answer. Other Senators might be interested in some of the stories which are going around the country. Probably most are rumors; some of them rumors based on facts, some on fancy. I ask unanimous consent to have the letter printed at this point in the RECORD as a part of my remarks, and I should be glad to have the answers from those agencies of the Government which know the answers.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CALDWELL, KANS., June 23, 1945.

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,
Washington.

DEAR SENATOR: In going about my town of Caldwell, I hear stories related by bankers, mechanics, preachers, officials, agents, laborers, farmers, truck drivers, and others. Many may be stretched, untrue, and, again, perhaps there is a lot of foundation for many.

From reliable sources I have heard recently—

Several carloads of horse manure were shipped from Maryland to Enid, at \$400 per car freight, Government expense, to fertilize ground in the air base. We are told there is lack of transportation facilities.

A Kansas port of entry is maintained here on Highway 81. A truck of frozen meat was checked through, going to a prisoner-of-war camp at Alva. They had difficulty in unloading at the camp, the reason being that their lockers were already loaded.

A truck driver going to this same camp, stopped in our store to buy a package of cigarettes. We had none. His remarks: "Beats hell; and I'm hauling a large quantity of cigarettes to the prisoner-of-war camp at Alva."

Three carloads of gasoline were shipped to a base in Nebraska; their tanks were full and the gas was forwarded to another base; they, too, could not unload it for the same reason; again it was forwarded to the third base, where it was accepted, and the freight agent, in collecting the built-up freight charges, noticed that on account of poor pipe connections in the unloading much of the gas was wasting. And though notified, the connection was not corrected.

A farmer told me, "My boy is in Germany and wrote me saying, 'Dad, you are just

plain nuts; I have just finished washing my shirt in a 5-gallon can of gasoline, then dumped the gasoline out.'"

A mechanic told me, "My son is in India, military service, and wrote me that the United States was paying the English \$15,000 a month rent for the first floor of a tea warehouse."

A truck driver said, "I haul gasoline to an air base in southeast Kansas, and when I cannot unload my full load, I must dump the balance."

We are told by commentators and newspapers, "Don't travel"; which goes in one ear and out the other, when we hear the famous dog story.

I heartily approve Fulton Lewis, Jr., making the exposé on certain contracts, and if the two parties representing the Government on one side and the contractors on the other do not get up and shout, then I will consider the Lewis information correct, and wonder why sweat to buy extra war bonds, when the money is poured down a rat hole.

I visit Wichita occasionally, and it's staggering to see the large number of buildings and parts of buildings the United States Government is occupying. And I firmly believe we don't need so much regulation. And I wonder why Congress, with its many capable men, puts up with tomfoolery. And then I think maybe Congress doesn't know it, or, if it does, maybe they are regulated, too, by the numerous alphabetical agencies created at the other end of the street, and are fenced in.

Certainly we must win the war. I have two grandsons now in and two more will reach 18 this summer and will go in. That's my all. If they are privileged to come back, I want them to be proud of these United States.

Sincerely,

E. A. DETRICK.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE REAR ADM. FORREST B. ROYAL

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, we devoted last Monday to memorial services for Members of this body who have died while on duty in the Senate in the service of their country.

Today I rise to pay my respects and tribute to a great man in the armed forces of the United States, Rear Adm. Forrest B. Royal, who died on his flagship while on duty off Borneo in Brunei Bay.

As commander of the forces that spearheaded the recent operation against Brunei Bay, Borneo, he had just completed a most successful landing of the forces necessary to carry on against the Japs in that territory.

In the mad rush of today's world we are apt to forget what men have done and are doing, because they are out of sight, and we only hear of their exploits and accomplishments.

Admiral Forrest B. Royal was one of the finest characters I have ever known. He was a great American, with unusual talent and ability, and demonstrated a devotion to this country which could not be surpassed by anyone.

Admiral Royal, who was a native of New York, graduated from the United States Naval Academy, at Annapolis, in 1915. He served on the battleship *Wyoming* until April 1917, when he was made assistant communications officer of the battleship *Pennsylvania*, which was the flagship of the fleet during World War I.

He later served as aide and flag lieutenant to Rear Adm. Philip Andrews,

and was named gunnery officer on the staff of Vice Adm. William H. Standley at the end of World War I.

He subsequently became aide to Admiral Standley, and accompanied him to Washington in 1933, when Admiral Standley became Chief of Naval Operations.

From 1936 to 1938 he was in command of the U. S. S. *Porter*, which was a destroyer leader.

Not being satisfied with what he was learning in the regular routine of Navy service, he attended the Naval War College, senior course, in May 1939, and then served as a member of the naval mission to Brazil before the outbreak of World War II.

At the outbreak of World War II he he commanded the cruiser U. S. S. *Milwaukee*, which plied the South Atlantic, keeping shipping lanes cleared of submarines from August 1941 to December 1942.

Later, in his capacity as United States Secretary to the Combined Chiefs of Staff, he accompanied President Roosevelt to the conferences at Quebec, Cairo, and Tehran.

As commander of Group Six Amphibious Forces in the Pacific Ocean, he successfully completed five important landings, at Leyte, Lingayen, Mindanao, Tarakan, and Brunei Bay, Borneo.

For the outstanding success in the landing of amphibious task groups operating against Leyte and Luzon in the Philippines he was awarded the distinguished service medal. This medal was recently awarded by the President of the United States, and it is not known whether the Admiral received the medal and the citation before he was called into the great beyond.

Admiral Royal was born in February 1893, so that he was a very young man to occupy the important post he held in the Navy.

It is seldom that a man has the opportunity, as I had, to watch a young man develop the character and ability and accumulate the experience which are necessary to perform in the interest of our country as Admiral Royal did, and then have the great privilege that came to me to vote in the Senate for his confirmation as an admiral.

I recall a conversation I had with Admiral Royal when he was a young man in his late twenties. I was much impressed by his poise, his sound judgment, and the knowledge he had accumulated regarding the human family. He was one of the young men whom I wished to bring into my business, and I talked with him a number of times, finally making him an offer of compensation that was many times what he was receiving from the Navy and several times what he would receive if he reached the top of the Navy. I remember his well-considered answer, when he said, "I appreciate the compliment you have paid me, but, after all, I have decided to give my life to the Navy and to my country and I do not believe I would ever be happy in any other service." He further said: "After all, the making of money is a minor matter as compared with doing what one believes to be his duty and

through doing that finding happiness and satisfaction."

I recall this conversation as vividly as if it had been yesterday, and I wish every American boy could understand the full importance of what it meant to him to make that choice under the circumstances because, after all, neither he nor his wife nor his family had any great amount of worldly goods.

I am going to take a moment of the Senate's time to read the citation given to Rear Adm. Forrest E. Royal by the President of the United States for his services at Leyte and Luzon:

For exceptionally meritorious service to the Government of the United States in a duty of great responsibility while serving as commander of an amphibious task group during the preparation for and throughout our assault operation against the enemy Japanese-held islands of Leyte and Luzon in the Philippines from July 1944, to January 1945. A resourceful tactician and brilliant leader, Rear Admiral Royal displayed exceptional ability in organizing and training the forces under his command into a smoothly functioning unit and in formulating plans for the invasions, working tirelessly and with meticulous attention to the most minute details incident to our landing operations. A master of amphibious warfare deeply imbued with the spirit of combat, he maintained his force at the peak of battle efficiency, contributing immeasurably to the successful accomplishment of the missions assigned to his command, with minimum loss in personnel and material. His outstanding professional skill, daring aggressiveness and valiant devotion to duty throughout were essential factors in the success of our sustained drive toward a fanatic, determined enemy in the Pacific theater of war and reflect the highest credit upon Rear Admiral Royal, his gallant command and the United States naval service.

When Admiral Royal left for the Pacific he came to see me, and I told him I hoped he would be back soon. He replied, "I will be back when my duty is performed and I hope the task may be finished soon." Duty was always uppermost in his mind, just as it was uppermost in the mind of Robert E. Lee and other great men who have served their country.

Admiral Royal, as a young man, showed his excellent judgment in choosing and winning as his life partner Katherine Knight, the daughter of the famous Admiral Austin K. Knight, who had full command of the Pacific Fleet in the last war, but who passed on to his reward many years ago.

It is said a man's success in life is often measured by the kind of a wife and family he has. Admiral Royal and his wife have two daughters who are as fine young women as are to be found in this country, and those three women have taken this great sorrow just as a soldier's family should take it—with their chins up and a determination to carry on in their duty as a tribute to their husband and father.

In paying my respects and tribute, and expressing my affection for this fine soldier, who has been called into the Great Beyond at the early age of 52, I wish to express my high regard and deepest respect for all of the great men in our fighting forces who have made the

supreme sacrifice in defense of their country and the justice which it seeks for all the people of the world.

I have had an opportunity recently to survey many of the men who have been doing a job on the firing line, and I can assure the Senate that every American would be proud of them if he could see what they are doing and the conditions under which they have done it.

In closing this tribute to my beloved friend, Forrest Royal, I wish to use one verse from Douglas Malloch's poem, *A Comrade Rides Ahead*:

Not weaker now our chain, but stronger;
In all our loss and all our ill
We now shall look a little longer
At ev'ry star above the hill
And think of him, and have him still.

James Whitcomb Riley expressed my views on death when he said:

I cannot say, and I will not say
That he is dead,
He is just away!
With a cheery smile, and a wave of the hand,
He has wandered into an unknown land,
And left us dreaming how very fair
It needs must be, since he lingers there.
And you—oh you, who the wildest yearns
For the old-time step and the glad return,
Think of him faring on, as dear
In the love of There as the love of Here;
Think of him still as the same I say:
He is not dead—he is just away!

THE FUNDAMENTAL CONFLICT—ADDRESS BY SENATOR ROBERTSON

[Mr. ROBERTSON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *Record* a radio address entitled "The Fundamental Conflict," delivered by him at Washington, D. C., on June 26, 1945, which appears in the Appendix.]

RECLASSIFICATION OF POSTAL EMPLOYEES—EXPLANATION OF H. R. 3035

[Mr. MEAD asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *Record* a section-by-section explanation of House bill 3035 providing for the reclassification of postal employees, which appears in the Appendix.]

PROPOSED FEDERAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT—EDITORIAL COMMENT

[Mr. HATCH asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *Record* an article by Frank R. Kent, from the *Washington Star* of June 25, 1945, and three editorials; one entitled "Labor's Blind Spot" from the *Washington Sunday Star* of June 24, 1945, one entitled "Bid for Industrial Peace" from the *Washington Star* of June 21, 1945, and one entitled "Faith in Union Contracts" from the *Washington Daily News* of June 25, 1945, all relating to the proposed Federal Labor Relations Act, which appear in the Appendix.]

PROPOSED FEDERAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT—EDITORIAL COMMENT

[Mr. BALL asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *Record* an article entitled "Labor's Long Pants" by Thomas L. Stokes, from the *Washington Daily News* of June 26, 1945, and an editorial entitled "Labor Legislation" from the *Washington Post* of June 24, 1945, both relating to the proposed Federal Labor Relations Act, which appear in the Appendix.]

PROPOSED FEDERAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT—EDITORIAL COMMENT

[Mr. BURTON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *Record* an editorial entitled "Revising the Labor Laws," from the *New York Times* of June 23, 1945, and an editorial entitled "For Industrial Peace,"

from the Cleveland Plain Dealer of June 21, 1945, which appear in the Appendix.]

ACTIVITIES OF THE OPA—LETTER FROM JOHN W. ANDERSON

[Mr. WILLIS (for himself and Mr. CAPEHART) asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a letter, dated June 16, 1945, from John W. Anderson, president of the Anderson Co., of Gary, Ind., with regard to the activities of the OPA, which appears in the Appendix.]

QUALIFICATIONS OF MR. JUSTICE DOUGLAS FOR SECRETARY OF STATE—EDITORIAL FROM THE OREGONIAN

[Mr. CORDON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an editorial entitled "This Is That Time," proposing the appointment of Justice W. O. Douglas, of the United States Supreme Court, to be Secretary of State, published in the Oregonian of May 29, 1945, which appears in the Appendix.]

EFFECT ON AGRICULTURE OF OPA ADMINISTRATION—LETTER FROM OMAR C. SPENCER

[Mr. CORDON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a letter from Omar C. Spencer to the Portland Oregonian with regard to conditions in agriculture resulting from OPA administration, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE SHORTAGE OF TEACHERS—ARTICLE BY MALVINA LINDSAY

[Mr. FULBRIGHT asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an article by Malvina Lindsay entitled "Who Will Teach?" published in the Washington Post of June 27, 1945, which appears in the Appendix.]

POSTWAR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS—LECTURE BY THE AUXILIARY BISHOP OF CHICAGO

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, in recent months, the religious leaders of our Nation have been giving increased attention to our postwar economic problems. In many areas of the country they are taking a position of leadership in pointing out the need for sufficient opportunities for useful and remunerative employment for all Americans who are willing and able to work.

A few days ago my attention was called to an address by the Most Reverend Bernard J. Sheil, senior auxiliary bishop of Chicago, who is my personal friend. The address was delivered before the Social Science Forum, Siena College, Loudonville, N. Y. In view of the great significance of Bishop Sheil's address, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record at this point, in connection with my remarks.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A WORLD A MAN CAN LIVE IN

The war in Europe is at an end. The tribulation and the passion of Europe are over. There is gratitude; there is joy. There is only a nameless sorrow for those whose loved ones paid the supreme price for our victorious liberty.

But the war is not yet finished. In the vast reaches of the Pacific, the gods of war still rage in undiminished fury. We cannot rest, we shall not rest, until the last vestige of resistance is extinguished. We cannot rest, we shall not rest, until this hideous thing, totalitarianism, and the evil men who spawned it are forever banished from the civilized world.

Yes, the war in Europe has ended victoriously. And we are certain that, in God's

good time, the war in the Pacific will be crowned with triumph. But victory shall not mark the end of the struggle. For, beneath the clash of arms, beneath the din of battle, there lies a much greater struggle: a struggle of the people of the world. It is a social revolution; this is the accepted premise for any discussion about the future. The social revolution is a very present reality. It is here, whether we like it or not. We must come to grips with it and work with it. We cannot escape it. And the central question of the revolution is whether the reconstruction of the world is to be achieved really with the people, for the people, by the people.

No one has more beautifully expressed this than Plux XII in his Christmas message of last year: "Moreover—and this is perhaps the most important point—beneath the sinister lightning of the war that encompasses them; in the blazing heat of the furnace that imprisons them, the peoples have, as it were, awakened from a long torpor. They have assumed, in relation to the state and those who govern, a new attitude—one that questions, criticizes, distrusts."

In other words, there is a yeasting among the people, a ferment in the world. The Pope notes an abhorrence of all that is past and a feverish desire for reform. He sees over the world a desperate craving for liberty and an unquenched thirst for self-determination. The awakening of the peoples is a revolt on the part of the common people against the concentration of dictatorial power that cannot be censured or touched. Restless and impatient, the people are becoming more conscious of the social order in which they live. They are criticizing all social organizations and institutions because they realize that these organizations and institutions, which they support, have a very practical bearing on their lives.

But precisely what is this revolution? What is the issue of the revolution, as of this war? It is man; his dignity and his liberty. The revolution is a popular movement for the revindication and the attainment of full human rights for all people. It is a concerted effort to reestablish the primacy of the human person, in a world dominated by selfish, cynical, and self-willed men. It is an anguished and angry protest against a world stripped of meaning and of common human decency.

But the revolution is only one part of a war which we have never won. It is a war that will not be decided by military victory. It is a war that is as old as man; a war which has been fought since the first time, so long ago, that special privilege and selfishness and greed lifted their arrogant and pompous heads. It is a war that has been carried on, with varying degrees of acuteness and bitterness by all the despots of the world against the poor, the disinherited, the dispossessed. It is the war against decency, righteousness, and freedom, waged by all the economic Bourbons of history and of the present day, against the little man, the worker, the people. It is the fight for freedom, for security; it is the fight for sufficiency and the full life. It is the war, as old as man, against man's inhumanity to man. It is the war for a world a man can live in.

Here in America the war for a world a man can live in has developed further than anywhere else. America stands today as the symbol of hope and the aspiration of freedom-loving people everywhere. Yet, even here, in the land of the free, there is a mighty tide of suffering and injustice. Even here, in the land of plenty, there is hunger and want. But all is not black, because, here in the United States, we possess today the means to overcome this injustice and oppression. Now, as always, in our history, ways and means to effect a decent social order are at hand, if we will only be wise enough to use them.

For the building of a sound social order, we must turn first to the traditional concept of man. And this is simply the Christian concept. Without this, nothing can be built. In this evaluation of man, we learn that man is made in the image and likeness of God; he is, therefore, of immeasurable value. We learn that men have been redeemed by Jesus Christ; their value is enormously increased. We learn that God is our Father; and Christ our Brother. Man is free; he is innately superior to all social, economic, or political institutions. Man is the shaper, the maker, of the state. Man is the foundation and the end of the state. We find in this Christian notion of man our strongest motivation for the rebuilding of the world.

With this idea of man as the very foundation of our desires for a new world, we can go on to ways and means of rebuilding the world. First, I offer for your consideration the concept of full employment. Let me state emphatically my belief that full employment is possible in America; secondly, that unemployment is unnecessary. I have no patience with that school of thought which maintains that business depressions and mass unemployment are inevitable. They are inevitable only because stupidity, obstinacy, greed, and fear have made them so. Depressions and widespread unemployment are not acts of God; they are produced by us through our inhuman economic practices. We believe that it is necessary to organize the world for the preservation of international peace. Why should we not organize our own society to preserve economic peace and avoid economic disaster? International peace will never be assured until we achieve economic justice for all people. The people will not accept economic and social first-aid, when economic and social surgery is required.

For this reason, I think the proposed Murray full-employment bill is a providential weapon in the building of a world a man can live in. No reasonable man can oppose its desirable goal, a goal which vitally affects the well-being of everyone in the Nation. It is important to note that the projected full-employment plan contains no hint of that totalitarianism which its opponents allege. The will of the people, expressed through their freely elected representatives, can hardly be termed totalitarianism. The bill is based upon the premise that men make depressions; and upon the further premise that men can avoid depressions, through economic daring and bold statesmanship.

What are we offered by the opponents of full employment? It is strange but true, that there are some who do not wish our representative Government to undertake such a plan. They wish to leave the postwar unemployment problem to the natural forces of private enterprise; as if the jungle tactics of unrestrained competition were natural. Nothing less than a full program of jobs for all will fill the needs of postwar America.

Closely related to the concept of full employment is the concept of the guaranteed annual wage. The annual wage is no dreamy speculation of impractical planners. It is a hard-headed and potent instrument for the construction of a world a man can live in. It is likely that no other single measure would do more to bring about the traditional American dream of a social order worthy of man. It is a very obvious means of aiding men to achieve their temporal and eternal end as human beings and children of God. This principle alone gives the annual wage sound moral justification. A very apparent benefit of the annual wage would be the increased stabilization of family life. Who can measure the good this alone will give us, since a strong family life is the basis of a strong nation? There will be a happier atmosphere in the home with a secure income; there will be a growth of self-reliance in men and hope for the future. If we have secured

security for corporations, why should we not secure security for the men who sustain the corporations? If there is security for corporations, surely there should be security for the men who make the profits possible.

The guaranteed annual wage in American industry can be achieved freely. The best proof of this is that, of the plans now in operation, all were undertaken at the initiative of private industry. Although the annual wage falls upon some ears with a sinister sound, it is pleasant to acknowledge that far-sighted businessmen have contributed much to the new plan. But the success of the annual wage in a few industries is a challenge to other industries to demonstrate further their vaunted initiative.

And, again, for the building of a world a man can live in, I strongly urge that labor unions extend their activities beyond a mere definition of wages and hours and the settlement of isolate grievances. These are the minimum actions of any labor union. I submit that all labor unions must participate in the management of industry. This is not a bid for anarchy; but a bid for that form of partnership which would permit a graduated share in the ownership and profits of business and also some voice in its management. Surely this is not an excessive demand on the part of labor. It is not a question of labor taking over management, lock, stock, and barrel. It is simply the workers' request that they should have a voice in things that affect them vitally.

The economic reason for such union-management cooperation need not be elaborated at length. It is the need for job protection and for proper living wages. Another reason for such cooperation is the need of the individual worker for self-expression and freedom at work. And the worker needs to feel satisfaction in his daily job, to which so much of his life is devoted.

Union-management cooperation enables the laborer to become a citizen of industry, not a subject. It is the extension of the principles of democracy into industry, and the best means of saving industry from any fear of the future. Union-management cooperation is an instrument through which all persons in industry participate at all levels in working out their mutual problems. Our fabulous wartime production is an amazing proof of the effect of unity and cooperation. If capital and labor united to preserve the ideal of freedom and equality, surely they can do the same to make freedom and equality real in our economic life.

It has been well said that we must rid ourselves of the belief that labor is an inert, impersonal commodity, and meet labor's demand for recognition as human beings. Fourteen years ago, Pius XI gave expression to this desire of labor: "In the present state of human society . . . We deem it advisable that the wage contract should, when possible, be modified somewhat by a contract of partnership, as is already being tried in various ways to the no small gain both of the wage earners and of the employers. In this way, wage earners are made sharers in some sort in the ownership, or the management, or the profits."

These are some of the things necessary for the erection of a world a man can live in. They are based upon the conviction that the industrial might of America must serve the people. Business must develop a social consciousness and be aware of its community responsibilities. Industry does not exist in a vacuum; on the contrary, it has marked and often terrible influence upon all of us. These proposals are a call to business to abandon the theory that business is an absolute, without relation to anything else. They are an invitation to business to participate in the expansion of democracy, and to assist in establishing that economic security without which democracy will surely die. A private enterprise that disregards public welfare cannot endure.

Further, a world a man can live in must be free from the deadly disease of race prejudice. If we are truly Christian, we cannot preach one thing and practice another. Nor, if we are truly democratic, can we preach equality and deny it to millions of our fellow Americans. We recoil with horror from Buchenwald and from Dachau. We cannot find words adequate to describe our revulsion. Yet, are our hands quite clean? Can we denounce the appalling atrocities in Germany and ignore our own practices? Our own hands are stained with the same brush. We decry racism and its fiendish injustices; yet we participate blandly in similar practices in our own Nation. We have not erased racism from the conscience of the world by defeating Germany. It is still a live and bitter issue to millions of Americans that very day. I am thinking of the toiling and sweating Negro; of the hated and driven Jew; of the bewildered and lonely Mexican; of the isolated, cowering Nisei.

I deplore and I disavow with all the strength of my being the hate which is deliberately fostered by persons who call themselves Americans. I hate the hate which tries to twist and pervert the American spirit into an unlovely, unlovable thing. As Jacques Maritain has said, "It is possible that in a few years this country may have to defend itself against the spiritual wave of destruction of human values which for a time submerged Europe . . . (America) would then see undisguised before her the face of evil and evil's reality." I am convinced that America already sees the face of evil in the hideous shape of race bigotry, which is the first step toward full-blown fascism. I am nauseated by our native Fascists, who use racism as a weapon of political and economic domination. I am sickened and ashamed by those religious leaders, of all beliefs, who do not use race at all, for any purpose, but simply ignore it. I despise the meagerness of spirit and the bleakness of soul represented by this monstrous thing, race prejudice.

And, for the building of a humane social order, an alert, informed citizenry is of paramount importance. We, the people, must be aware of the power we can wield. We must acknowledge that we are responsible, each to all, and all to each. This responsibility is to be exercised carefully. The most obvious means of doing this is to vote and vote intelligently. To do this, we must scan the records of all who seek public office. If they do not measure up to the tasks confronting them, they must be rejected without compunction. We must choose men of vision and imagination; men of solid Christian convictions; men of straight and steady judgment. These are extraordinarily high ideals of political leadership; but, for a democracy, the quality of leadership is a question of life and death. And let us not think that our job as citizens is finished after we have voted. Being a citizen of a democracy is an every day job, for all the year. We, the people, are the Government every day, not only on the days we mark our ballots. This means that all of us, with our elected representatives, are partners in a joint venture for the common good.

Strangely enough, there are people who oppose any such change in the existing social order. These are the men who fight fiercely for the status quo; which, by now, should be an object of curiosity for anti-quarians. Every measure of social enlightenment makes them quiver with fear. And they warn us of the imminent threat of communism. But I have always believed that America need never fear communism. For communism is no danger in a society where justice and charity prevail. Communism is no threat in a decent and humane economic structure. If we work indefatigably to bring about a Christian economy in accordance with the magnificent teachings of the Popes,

we shall strike the most telling blow against communism. Communism is not attractive to men and women who are well-housed, well-fed, and well-clothed. It would be no threat, if we would implement the fertile truths of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution; truths which we have too long regarded as oratorical flourishes; truths which we have too little regarded as seeds of dynamic democracy.

But, it is idle to think that we can pursue this objective in America alone. It is a pernicious fallacy to delude ourselves that we can build here a social order without regard to the rest of the world. It is childish fantasy to think we can pursue this end in narrow isolation. If God is our Father, then we are all brothers. The consequence of this brotherhood is an indissoluble bond, a bond which utterly precludes indifference to our fellow men. Everything we do in America has repercussions everywhere else. Full employment is impossible here if there is economic disaster in other nations. The good life in America is but a tantalizing mirage if the rest of the world languishes in slavery and want. The full life become only a macabre joke if other nations suffer from oppression and injustice. Our responsibility to do within our borders either helps or hinders other nations must be respected. What we owe other nations; Hitler's Germany is proof enough of this. In a world of total social and economic interdependence, it is dishonest for us to pretend that we can do as we please.

It is our national responsibility to be international in our outlook. Let us resist the siren call of isolationists who offer us a never-never land, if we will cut ourselves off from the world. They promise us security, but it is a security bought at the price of indifference to the suffering and misery of millions. They promise us freedom, an illusory freedom, bought at the price of utter disregard of the countless human beings who will be forced to live in bondage. If we yield to the isolationists, the world will become little more than an armed camp. All men will live in continual alarm. Our valued freedom and security will be mocking illusions. And we can expect with certainty a catastrophic third world war.

Events of the past years have made the arguments for or against internationalism largely academic. International organization is no utopian speculation, but a vital issue on which our lives and the existence of our civilization depend. As the Catholic bishops so clearly pointed out in November of 1944: "There is an international community of nations. God Himself has made the nations interdependent for their full life and growth. It is not, therefore, a question of creating an international community but of organizing it." I consider it mandatory for us to support the organization set up in San Francisco and to cease vicious criticism of it. If it contains imperfections, then let us work to eliminate them. But, for the preservation of civilization and Christian values, let us accept this organization, and work with all other nations, for the erection of a world a man can live in.

If ever a lesson was taught in galling and bitter experience, it is the lesson of unity, the unity of all people and of all nations. The future peace cannot endure, unless the unity of mankind is recognized. Pius XII has said: "On the recognition of this principle hangs the future of the peace. No world reform, no peace guarantee can abstract from it without being weakened and without being untrue to itself." For international order, the Pope insists upon a vivid and practical realization of human brotherhood: ". . . there is only one way of getting out of the meshes in which war and hate have wrapped the world; namely, a return to the solidarity, too long forgotten, a solidarity not restricted to these or those

peoples, but universal, founded on the intimate connection of their destiny and rights * * * This is a splendid restatement of very Christian concepts: the union of all men under the fatherhood of God and in the brotherhood of Jesus Christ. All men are brothers; because they can trace their ancestry to God, the same God who is Father to all. This is the religious meaning of that solidarity which is the bedrock of democracy and of the international family of nations.

With this foundation, men can live through the shocks of the present and look forward with equilibrium to the uncertainties of the future. On no other foundation can mankind rebuild the world into a place fit for the sons of God, the brothers of Christ. On no other foundation can men build a world a man can live in.

In the reconstruction of the world, Catholics must take a more active part. Catholics have already done much, finding their inspiration in the unparalleled social pronouncements of the popes. But far more could be done. Priests must know that basic changes are occurring. They must recognize that solutions to the social problems cannot be found in aloof detachment. And they must realize that the social problem is all around us. The social problem is the poverty of the slums, breeding grounds of disease and crime; the social problem is the despair of a jobless father; the social problem is the gaunt face of an undernourished child; the social problem is the bewildered boy caught in the meshes of his own weak will and forces beyond his comprehension; the social problem is the spiritual emptiness of a lonely people in a dark world. The social problem is the obstinate, selfish greed of men who deny that they are their brother's keeper. The social problem is injustice wherever it exists, in whatever form. From Leo XIII to Pius XII, the popes have asked priests to win back the workingman to the church. "Go to the workingman, especially where he is poor, and, above all, go to the poor," said Pius XI. "The great scandal of the nineteenth century is that the church lost the working class." May it be the great glory of the twentieth century that the church won back the working class.

To win them back, it is increasingly clear that we of the Catholic clergy and hierarchy must take our place uncompromisingly on the side of the poor. Most of our people are poor and in ordinary circumstances. Most of our priests and bishops are from the poor. We must be the champions of the ordinary people of the world, whether they are Catholic or not. We must realistically interest ourselves in the laboring people, using whatever prestige and authority we possess to defend them against the ready onslaughts of the rich and mighty. And, if we are accused of advocating changes which favor the ordinary man, then we freely acknowledge our guilt. The balance has been too long the other way.

We cannot dismiss the world as decadent and dissolute. If we do, the world will dismiss us as irrelevant and superficial. We must know modern man and enter intimately into his problems. Men are not influenced by anything that does not enter into the very marrow of their being. Michael de la Bedoyere is especially pertinent here: "Does the church, do the Christians, do the clergy themselves make contact with the world at the level of the world's suffering; or do they stand above, hanging on to the last ridges of a world that is gone, away from the dirt and smell and blood, beckoning to those below and expecting them to rise by spiritual enchantment?"

We cannot continue to leave the reconstruction of the world to the religiously indifferent; we are bound to be in the forefront for full social justice for all. We dare not let the magnificent social doctrine of the

church lie fallow, unused, perhaps, even unread, while others, more energetic and more prepared, apply truncated or even vicious social remedies. It is only through the full social teaching of the church, and the action of her priests and bishops, that the church's social doctrine can leaven the world. Inspired by the church's unending fight for the dignity and liberty of man, we can build a world a man can live in; for, the church is the unerring teacher, setting her mind and her will to leading men, God's children, out of the valleys of oppression and depression, out of the abyss of hate and rancor, onto the heights of light and understanding, into the realms of security and freedom and justice.

THE CONTINUED SHORTAGE OF FARM MACHINERY

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, time and time again I have brought to the attention of the Senate the continued lack of farm machinery for the farmers of the Northwest. About 3 months ago the War Production Board issued this statement:

The Senators were assured, however, that as soon as the war in Europe takes a sufficiently favorable turn Krug expects to reallocate steel to take care of the farm-machinery situation.

Mr. President, although that promise was made, nothing has been done.

I have in my hand an article which appeared in the Cando Record-Herald of a few weeks ago entitled "Less Farm Machinery for Farmers During 1945."

Of the scores of letters I have received on this subject, I will read two or three. Here is one which is typical. It is from Hamilton, N. Dak., and is dated June 19, 1945, and reads as follows:

DEAR SENATOR: What does it take to get a little consideration in getting farm machinery? My neighbor, Mr. William Bill, has three quarters of land. He bought a third- or fourth-hand combine last fall and it just naturally was worn out. He tried to get one of the few International self-propelled ones that came to this country, but he missed out for some reason or other. One of them was sold to a man who immediately sent it down south to combine down there, and we need new ones here so badly. And that is not all. Mr. Bill has six sons in the service—

I want every serviceman in the room to listen to this:

Mr. Bill has six sons in the service—that is what I said—six. But that is not right. It isn't six—it is five, on account one of his boys was killed in Belgium last winter while doing his part to turn Rundstedt back in the Battle of the Bulge. Billy is carrying on with his one remaining boy.

Now, Senator, don't you think that Mr. Bill is entitled to a combine and swather, if anyone is?

Mr. President, I shall not read the remainder of the letter because it asks me to telephone Fowler McCormick and to beg Fowler McCormick, of Chicago, to be so good as to give this man a combine because of the fact that he has five boys in the service and has lost one.

Mr. President, I have before me several typical letters. Here is one from Langdon, N. Dak., from a man named Thomas Devaney. He writes as follows:

DEAR BILL: I am writing this letter for Emil Lorenz, a farmer near Langdon, N. Dak. His farm is not far from here and consists of

440 acres of land. He is farming with an old tractor of the vintage of 1928 and is worn out. He has been trying for 2 years to get another, but without success. Last year he applied to the board for a permit and got one, but no tractor. The harvest will be coming on in a few weeks and he feels that his old tractor is not equal to the work and may quit entirely.

Here is one from Pekin, N. Dak. The writer says:

What is the matter that North Dakota should be so discriminated against? How can we raise cattle and crops without machinery?

He further states:

I shall be very pleased if you will see to it that I get a cultivator and I need it quickly. I certainly think you Senators should put your foot down on this lend-lease business and see that our own people are looked after first—we do the work and pay the taxes and buy bonds—we should come first and anything that is left over can go to the Allies. You know this nearly burns me up that here in a land of plenty—and at a time when they are laying off so many workers in the defense plants—that we can't get the necessities to produce the foods that is so badly needed all over the world.

Here is one from Nekoma, N. Dak.:

HON. WILLIAM LANGER,
United States Senator from North Dakota,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LANGER: I have been trying for some months now to get a 12-foot combine and swather. None of the dealers around here seem to be able to get me one. Dealers I have contacted are: Smith Bros., Osnabrock, N. Dak., Minneapolis Moline; Ernie Christie, Langdon, N. Dak., Case; William Porter, Langdon, N. Dak., John Deere.

I would appreciate anything you can do to help me in obtaining a combine and swather for this year's harvest. I prefer a Minneapolis Moline but would accept a Case or John Deere.

I have letters showing that farmers have tried for as long as 3 years to get a combine or a tractor. Where is this machinery going? Last week I read into the RECORD reports from the town of Portal. This machinery is going right by the North Dakota farmers into Canada. Here is one report, dated June 13:

PORTAL, N. DAK., June 13, 1945.

DEAR SENATOR: There were exported at Portal, on flatcars, on June 11, 12 McCormick-Deering tractors on rubber. On June 12 there were no flatcars, but I was informed that there were several boxcars of machinery. I was not informed as to the amount and kinds.

NORMAN G. JENSEN.

Here is another report, dated June 16, 1945:

PORTAL, N. DAK., June 16, 1945.

DEAR SENATOR: On June 15 there were exported at Portal 4 flatcars of tractors (8 Allis-Chalmers tractors on rubber, 18 McCormick-Deering tractors on rubber). I was reliably informed that there have been several carloads of machinery per day in boxcars.

NORMAN G. JENSEN.

Two days later, on June 18, I have the following report:

PORTAL, N. DAK., June 18, 1945.

DEAR SENATOR: There were exported at Portal today on flatcars: 12 Cockshutt tractors on rubber, 6 McCormick-Deering tractors on rubber, 2 large John Deere combines on rubber, 4 No. 123 self-propelled McCormick-

Deering combines on rubber. My reliable source of information says there was no other machinery today and that it was quite unusual to have boxcars without machinery.

Sincerely,

NORMAN G. JENSEN.

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LANGER. I yield.

Mr. CAPPER. I am sure the Senator from North Dakota is fully justified in making this appeal on behalf of the farmers of his State. I receive the same kind of letters almost daily from my State, and I believe that the same condition exists throughout the Farm Belt. Something should be done to relieve the situation.

Mr. LANGER. I am very glad indeed to have the statement of the distinguished senior Senator from Kansas. I am sorry to learn that the same condition exists in Kansas that we have in North Dakota.

These reports are all within a week. They are dated June 13, June 16, June 18, June 20, and June 22. The following report is dated June 20, 1945:

PORTAL, N. DAK., June 20, 1945.

DEAR SENATOR: There were exported at Portal last night 25 Allis-Chalmers tractors on rubber; 4 McCormick Deering No. 62 combines on rubber.

These were on flatcars; remember, I can't see what's in boxcars.

NORMAN G. JENSEN.

Two days later, June 22, 5 days ago, at the very time when hundreds of farmers in my State were in need of machinery, and some of them had been trying for years to get a tractor, a combine, or a swather, I received the following report:

PORTAL, N. DAK., June 22, 1945.

DEAR SENATOR: Four more McCormick-Deering self-propelled combines have been exported to Canada on flatcars—I can't see what's in boxcars. Rumors here say lots of small machinery and tractors.

NORMAN G. JENSEN.

Mr. President, someone may say, "Why do not those farmers take the law in their own hands and grab the machinery?" They tried that over in Ohio a few months ago and this is what happened to them. I read from the Georgia Farmers' Market Bulletin of June 13, 1945:

Last fall Jim Mannix, of Greenville, Ohio, who is a member of the Farmers Guild, needed a corn picker. At that time, millions of dollars worth of farm machinery, manufactured in this country, was being shipped to Soviet Russia, England, and all over the world. Jim Mannix located a corn picker that was for sale. He paid the dealer's price in cash and with the help of some neighbors took the corn picker. He and seven of his neighbors were arrested for violating OPA regulations. They were put under bonds in the total amount of \$160,000. Ultimately, Jim Mannix had to return the corn picker which he needed desperately.

That, Mr. President, is the situation in the Farm Belt. All I can say is that the farmer cannot do it himself without being arrested and placed under a \$160,000 bond for taking a corn picker; but I suggest that the Governors of the Northwestern States might very well use the State militia for the purpose.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD certain

letters which I have received on this subject.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDGELEY, N. DAK., June 19, 1945.

DEAR MR. LANGER: You have helped us in the past, and I am looking forward to help us again. Which I'm almost sure.

I have 240 acres of grain to cut this year. And I'm unable to get a grain binder. I bought a second-hand one last year, paid \$65, the owner told me it is in good condition. I went out to try to cut my grain. One thing break after the other. Was unable to get all the parts. Had to hire a man with the binder. Paid \$1 an acre.

I'd very much like to have a new binder. If it's a power binder, I need a power take-off for a 10-20 McCormick-Deering tractor, which we are unable to get here.

I can't pay all in cash, but am willing to pay some down and the rest after threshing. Or whichever it will be.

Very truly yours,

WALTER TOBOLSKI.

EDGELEY, N. DAK.

VENTURIA, N. DAK., June 18, 1945.

Senator WILLIAM LANGER,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LANGER: Just a friendly letter to obtain if possible some information for myself and many others.

I was discharged from the armed forces June 6, 1944. While I was farming before I left for the service in October 1941, I went back to it. I find it difficult to start which I did expect. I managed to get a tractor, but an old worn out one. There were quite a number of new ones all over the State, but when the OPA quit rationing them last fall only the fellows that were financially well fixed, and a lot of them had tractors, got them and got rid of the old ones. That's the same story on all implements now.

What really made me think of writing to you now is the fact I did manage to put out a crop and the stand is heavy, but I have no machine of no kind to harvest it. Not even a mower. Isn't there a way possible for us to figure on getting machines for veterans, and especially for harvesting this summer?

There were some new combines shipped in this spring and still are coming. But the old saying, they were sold before they ever got here. What are we going to do about this?

Sincerely yours,

GORDON J. HOFFMAN.

ROUTE 1, VENTURIA, N. DAK.

STRASBURG, N. DAK., June 18, 1945.

Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,

United States Senator,

Capitol Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LANGER: A great plight exists in Emmons County, N. Dak., for tractors and harvesting machinery for the coming crop.

Our quota is low, due to the fact that in 1941 our farmers were not in a position to buy any new machinery.

Now they are handicapped by a low-quota basis, lack of the newer equipment, and labor shortage.

Most of our farmers are operating machines 15 years old, worn out, and not adapted to the conditions that now are at hand.

One dealer in South Dakota alone has delivered 50 tractors so far this year. Some of this dealer's tractors were sold in our territory. We have sold two tractors so far. Do you call this fair distribution?

We feel sure that with the aid of our Senator, and the help and cooperation of the Minneapolis Moline Power Implement Co., of Minneapolis, Minn., we will be able to help at least some of our farmers to get their crops cut in time.

We wish to submit some of the farmers' names who have had their orders with us for new machinery since last October:

Joe Neise, tractor; Al Baumgartner, tractor; Kasper J. Feist, tractor; Max Heiderich, tractor; Zashauss Backmier, tractor; Henry Plagerman, tractor; Andy Rodenberg, tractor; Sam Mitzel, tractor; Math W. Lipp, tractor; John B. Wagner, tractor; John W. Kramer, tractor; Seb. A. Selzer, tractor; Steve Zacher, tractor; Joe Zahn, tractor; Adam J. Fischer, tractor; J. J. Baumgartner and son, tractor; Frank C. Kraft, tractor; Herman L. Dykeman, tractor; Peter Matern, tractor; Clemens Rorrich, tractor; Plus Sterifel, tractor; Peter S. Rorrich, tractor; Henry Van Soest, tractor; Jake Hulm, tractor; Wendlin Schumaker, tractor; Melchor Backmier, tractor; A. J. Kunz, tractor drill; Anton Krumm, tractor drill; Jacob J. Feist, tractor drill; Alfred Van Der Worste, tractor drill; Frank Volk, tractor drill; Jake Hulm, horse drill; Ludwig Schwab, horse drill; Ray Schriener, horse drill; Frank Kuss, horse drill; Theodore J. Mattern, 7-foot power mower; John L. Van Beek, 7-foot power mower; Edward Van Der Worste, 7-foot power mower; John W. Kramer, M. M. combine; Joe Goldade, M. M. combine; Al Baumgartner, M. M. combine; Damian Baumgartner, M. M. combine; Bert Borr, M. M. combine; Egnatz Reinbold, M. M. combine; A. A. Krumm, M. M. combine; A. A. Hollaar, M. M. combine; Harry Heidrich, M. M. combine; Peter Matern, M. M. combine; Herman Heisingh, M. M. combine; Ed. G. Van Der Worste, M. M. combine; John Stom, M. M. combine; Harry De Boer, M. M. combine; Gerrit A. Haak, M. M. combine; Felix Silvernagle, M. M. combine; J. J. Baumgartner, Jr., M. M. combine.

This is a true statement as of the records on hand.

Whatever will be done to relieve this bottleneck will be in interest of the North Dakota farmer and will greatly help the War Food Administration.

May we hear your comment?

Yours respectfully,

VAL KELLER, Jr.,

Keller Hardware, Strasburg, N. Dak.

BOTTINEAU, N. DAK., June 18, 1945.

Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: My brother-in-law, Adelard Bibeau, and I have each been trying to buy a combine. Would you try to help us buy them? Some combines have been bought here and some have gone into Canada, but it has been impossible for either of us to buy one. We are both very much in need of one. Our old combines are obsolete. We cannot buy repairs for them. It will be impossible to harvest our crops with them this year.

Any help you could give us would be appreciated very much.

Sincerely yours,

HERMAN CARBONNEAU.

FINGAL, N. DAK., June 17, 1945.

Mr. WILLIAM LANGER,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR WILLIAM: We are having nice weather, but it is getting dry. The crop looks good but is short, and the corn is poor. We are feeling fine except Mother, and hope these few lines find you the same Mr. William Langer. I got a combine, but I can't get a swather, so I am writing to you if there is any chance to get one. If you could help me out with one, a McCormick or Moline or any other kind of swather, a 12-foot swather. I am farming 520 acres. Please let me know.

Sincerely,

JULIUS LANGER.

TUNBRIDGE, N. DAK., March 30, 1945.

DEAR SENATOR: Well, I know that you are busy, so I will make my letter as short and

brief as possible. Well, I am a farmer who is very much in need of a tractor but am not able to get one. Since our Government has taken off the priority, the dealers favor their good friends, and again I can't figure out why in some places there are many tractors stored and not shipped out where they are needed very bad. I and my brother are farming 500 acres and all we have is a 1927 18-36 Hart-Parr tractor, which is almost beyond repair. So, if we don't get a new tractor, our Government need not expect 100-percent production. I have been trying to get a new tractor for the past 5 months.

Yours truly,

SIMON VOELLER.

GLENFIELD, N. DAK., March 5, 1945.

Senator LANGER,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I spoke to you in New Rockford, N. Dak., last summer and we corresponded back and forth in regard to my securing a grain binder for the 1944 crop. I was unable to secure one, and wasn't able properly to care for my crop last fall. I farm 640 acres and have only one old horse grain binder and therefore some of the grain shells before I can get to it. I have had my order in for a new binder with all the implement dealers in the near vicinity but there are so many orders ahead of mine that I can see no possible chance of my getting one. I would like to know if there is any chance of my securing one for the 1945 crop before I start seeding because if there isn't there is no need of my planting that much. Please let me know at once if you can give me any help or advice.

Yours truly,

FRANK PAZKOWSKI.

LARIMORE, N. DAK., March 16, 1945.

Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,

United States Senator,

Washington, D. C.

Farm equipment situation very critical especially tillage and seeding machinery for spring. We would appreciate any effort toward relief of the situation. If required crop acreages requirements by Department of Agriculture are to be met. This will mean additional equipment in June and July.

The C. E. WALSTER Co.

WELCOME TO SENATORS CONNALLY AND VANDENBERG

At 12 o'clock and 40 minutes, p. m., Mr. CONNALLY and Mr. VANDENBERG entered the Chamber and were greeted by applause, Senators rising.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate will take a brief recess.

At the expiration of the recess, the Senate reassembled, and Mr. HOEY resumed the chair.

SUSPENSION OF STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS IN CERTAIN CASES

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate take up a bill to amend an act suspending until June 30, 1945, the running of the statute of limitations applicable to violations of the antitrust laws, so as to continue such suspension until June 30, 1946.

Mr. President, this bill should be passed today in order that it may go to the House of Representatives and be passed there, because otherwise certain antitrust cases concerning which the President has asked for a suspension of the statute of limitations because the war is going on would be barred, and it would be difficult, in his opinion, to defend the cases or prepare to defend them. He

has asked the Department of Justice to hold up certain proceedings in the cases.

If we do not pass the bill now it will mean that these antitrust cases will be forever barred by the statute of limitations, and I am informed and believe that there are certain cases in which the statute would run unless Congress passed the bill.

For this reason, Mr. President, I ask that the bill be now considered.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I recall that the Senator from Michigan spoke to me about this matter earlier in the day and I think it is true also that the matter has been cleared with the majority leader.

Mr. FERGUSON. I spoke to the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], the majority leader, and I should like to have the bill considered at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 937) to amend the act suspending until June 30, 1945, the running of the statute of limitations applicable to violations of the antitrust laws, so as to continue such suspension until June 30, 1946.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the first section of the act entitled "An act to suspend until June 30, 1945, the running of the statute of limitations applicable to violations of the antitrust laws," approved October 10, 1942 (56 Stat. 781; U. S. C., Supp. III, title 15, note following sec. 16), is amended by striking out the date "June 30, 1945" where it appears in such section and inserting in lieu thereof the date "June 30, 1946."

MARITIME COMMISSION CONTRACTS

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, several times during the last 3 years I have called the attention of the Senate to certain questionable transactions of the United States Maritime Commission. I have called attention to the many reports of alleged irregularities by the Commission which have been brought to the Congress by the office of the Comptroller General. I have referred to the exorbitant prices paid by the Maritime Commission for obsolete ships, in defiance of the formula prescribed by the Congress for the acquisition of such ships.

I have called attention to the excessive insurance paid on ships lost at sea, in some cases amounting to over 50 times the legal valuation of the ship, as fixed by the Commission itself.

I have frequently referred to the rates paid on the Red Sea Charter contracts, whereby the owners of 81 vessels valued at \$8,265,000 were able to make profits of \$26,874,176.70 on a total of 90 voyages.

A year ago I called attention to the fact that out of over 20,000 contracts placed by the Maritime Commission less than 30 contained the recapture-of-excess-profits provision as required by law, and I have called attention to other transactions in which the United States Maritime Commission was involved, and

which most obviously were not in the public interest.

About 2 months ago it was reported to me that several contracts for ship construction had been made with the Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., located at Beaumont, Tex., and that an addendum to these contracts contained provisions which, to my mind, clearly were not compatible with the public interest. I learn that the Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., is a wholly owned subsidiary of the American Republics Corporation, a holding company originally organized under the laws of the State of Delaware. This holding company at the end of 1944 controlled five wholly owned subsidiary companies, namely, the American Petroleum Co., organized under the laws of Texas; Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., organized under the laws of Delaware; Petroleum Coal & Iron Co., organized under the laws of Alabama; the Petroleum Iron Works Co., organized under the laws of Pennsylvania; and Republic Production Co., organized under the laws of Texas. Most of the income of the holding company is apparently derived from the Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc.

I shall be glad to furnish the names of the officers of the company if anyone is interested. The directorate largely interlocks with that of the Fidelity Trust Co. of Houston. I see no good purpose to be served by stating the names here. In fact, I have had no information that the company itself has violated any law.

However, as the reports which I received were disturbing in character, I requested the Comptroller General to make an examination of contracts DAMCc-51, MCo-2199, MCo-8215, and MCo-16309 for the purpose of ascertaining whether there is contained therein a provision denying to the Maritime Commission access to the contractor's books and records.

Under date of June 6, 1945, Mr. Lindsay C. Warren, Comptroller General of the United States, advised me that in response to my inquiry an examination had been made and—

It has been found that an agreement dated December 31, 1944, was executed by and between the Commission and the contractor, which agreement was in the form of an amendment to each of the four contracts listed above, and that article III of the said agreement provides:

"The contractor shall have no obligation to make any statements or returns of costs to the Commission or to make available to the Commission any of its books, records, or accounts pertaining to the performance of work under the vessel contracts."

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AIKEN. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. Has the Senator from Vermont made inquiry as to why such a provision would be placed in the contracts?

Mr. AIKEN. I intend to develop that point.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator has made inquiry in that connection, has he?

Mr. AIKEN. Yes; I have. With the consent of the Senate, I will insert in the RECORD documents which I think will clearly show why these provisions relieving the contractors from furnishing any

cost figures are inserted in the contracts in the form of amendments.

Mr. FERGUSON. I am anxious to have that information placed in the RECORD.

Mr. AIKEN. I think the committee of which the Senator is a member will be very much interested in having that information.

Mr. President, I have secured a copy of the agreement dated December 31, 1944, which was signed by Emory S. Land for the United States Maritime Commission and by L. B. Coppinger, president, for the Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc. I ask unanimous consent to have this agreement printed in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit A.)

Mr. AIKEN. I further wish to call the attention of the Senate to article II of this agreement, which reads in part as follows:

ART. II. The contractor shall have no further or other obligations under the vessel contracts or on account of the performance of work thereunder, including any obligation to repair, remedy, replace, or make good any defects, break-down, or deterioration occurring in any vessel delivered under the vessel contracts.

In other words, the contractor can deliver ships which will not float or which are not fully equipped or the contractor may maintain other defects or shortages, but he will be relieved of the responsibility to make good.

Mr. FERGUSON. I should like to ask the Senator whether he will state why that provision was placed in the contract.

Mr. AIKEN. I would have no answer to that question. I think the Maritime Commission should be asked to explain the matter.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator has not made inquiry of the Maritime Commission as to why it inserted such a provision in the contract; has he?

Mr. AIKEN. No. My communications have been wholly with the Office of the Comptroller General. I stopped communicating with the Maritime Commission some time ago.

Mr. FERGUSON. Then, as I understand, the Maritime Commission does not give a reason for putting in the contracts the provision relieving the company from having an audit and examination made of its books, but the statement in that connection is one made by the Comptroller General; is that correct?

Mr. AIKEN. Let me say to the Senator that if he will read the document which I shall have printed in the RECORD he will find that the Maritime Commission has not given the Comptroller General's Office a good and sufficient reason or, at least, one which is satisfactory to that agency.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AIKEN. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. How long has this been going on?

Mr. AIKEN. The amendments to the four contracts were made on December 31 of last year. As I continue with my

statement, which will take only a few minutes longer, I think I shall be able to show why it was done. The four contracts covered by the agreement total \$111,213,553.

Mr. President, later on I shall ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a copy of a letter from Lindsay C. Warren to Admiral Land, dated June 7, 1945. This letter refers to another contract, MCC-34973, with the Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., and dated "as of January 2, 1945." The letter indicates that the sum of \$802,000 deducted from the price of each ship under this contract as the value of the material, machinery, and equipment furnished by the Commission to the contractor is a purely arbitrary figure.

It will appear from a document which I shall submit for the RECORD that the contract probably was signed much later than that date, but was dated back to January 2, 1945, and was signed "as of January 2, 1945."

Mr. President, I shall now quote briefly from Mr. Warren's letter to Admiral Land:

Representatives of this Office have advised that they have been unable to locate any factual data to support the said sum of \$802,000 or any records relating to the maintenance of inventories or the control thereof in the various shipyards.

Apparently the Maritime Commission does not keep records of inventories or have any accurate knowledge of the amount and value of the supplies maintained at shipyards which hold Commission contracts. It will further be observed from this letter that a net overpayment of \$6,172,618 on a \$35,900,000 contract is indicated.

The only conclusion one can draw is that a deliberate and utter disregard of the use of public funds exists in the Maritime Commission.

As I have said, Mr. President, I am placing these matters before this body today because I feel that the time is drawing near when the public and the Congress will be interested in correcting such conditions as have existed in the United States Maritime Commission for years, but which have grown steadily worse since the beginning of the war.

I believe that an impartial and thorough investigation would show that the wastefulness and illegal expenditures of the Maritime Commission have run, not into millions of dollars, but possibly into billions of dollars.

The matters which I have tried to bring to the attention of the Senate during the last 4 years actually only scratch the surface of the unsavory conditions which exist in the Maritime Commission. So far the Congress has neglected to take appropriate action. I am encouraged to believe, however, that even if the legislative branch of our Government does nothing about this matter, the executive branch will.

I am sure the President of the United States is quite familiar with the bad conditions existing within the Maritime Commission; and I believe that if the Congress does nothing, President Truman will take it upon himself to deal

properly with those who have failed in the performance of their duties.

Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent to have certain documents printed in the RECORD. The first is a letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, Lindsay C. Warren, to me, dated June 6.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMPTROLLER GENERAL
OF THE UNITED STATES.

Washington, D. C., June 6, 1945.

HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN,

United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Pursuant to your informal inquiry I have had examined the following contracts with Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., DA-MCC-51, MCC-2199, MCC-8215, and MCC-16309, for the purpose of ascertaining whether there is contained therein a provision denying to the Maritime Commission access to the contractor's books and records. It has been found that an agreement dated December 31, 1944, was executed by and between the Commission and the contractor, which agreement was in the form of an amendment to each of the four contracts listed above, and that article III of the said agreement provides:

"The contractor shall have no obligation to make any statements or returns of costs to the Commission or to make available to the Commission any of its books, records, or accounts pertaining to the performance of work under the vessel contracts."

In view of your interest in this matter I am enclosing herewith a copy of my letter of April 18, 1945 (B-37430) addressed to the Chairman, United States Maritime Commission. It will be noted that this Office has taken the position in the said letter that the involved provision of the contract does not operate to limit or otherwise affect the furnishing of evidence deemed necessary to support reimbursements made under the superseded contracts.

I trust the foregoing will serve the purpose of your inquiry.

Sincerely yours,

LINDSAY C. WARREN.

Comptroller General of the United States.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, the next document is a copy of the contract with the Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., dated December 31, 1944, and signed by E. S. Land for the Maritime Commission, and L. B. Coppinger, for the Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc.

The next document is a letter from the Comptroller General to Admiral Land, dated April 18, 1945.

The fourth and last document is a letter from Lindsay C. Warren, Comptroller General, to Admiral Land, Chairman of the United States Maritime Commission, dated June 7, 1945.

There being no objection, the documents were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXHIBIT A

This agreement, made and entered into as of the 31st day of December 1944, by and between the United States Maritime Commission (herein called the Commission) and Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., a corporation organized and existing under the laws of the State of Delaware (herein called the contractor);

Witnesseth:

1. Whereas under dates of April 29, 1941, February 6, 1942, August 13, 1942, and April 20, 1943, respectively, the Commission and the contractor entered into certain contracts,

designated DA-MCc-51, MCo-2199, MCo-8215, MCo-16309, respectively (herein called the vessel contracts), for the construction of certain cargo vessels;

2. Whereas under the terms of each of the vessel contracts the Commission agreed to pay the contractor the cost of performance of the work thereunder and a fee calculated and adjusted in the manner prescribed therein;

3. Whereas the Commission has determined the cost of the performance of the contract work and has calculated the fee payable to the contractor under the terms of the vessel contracts;

4. Whereas the Commission has requested the contractor to reduce the amount of fee calculated as aforesaid;

5. Whereas the contractor is willing to accept compensation for the performance of the contract work in an amount less than that provided for in the vessel contracts upon the understanding that a fixed lump-sum amount as compensation for such performance shall be paid to it as hereinafter provided;

6. Whereas the contractor will enter into an agreement with the United States of America, represented by the Chairman of the Commission, providing for the repayment to or retention by the Commission of certain profits derived from the performance of the vessel contracts found to be excessive as a result of renegotiation pursuant to the provisions of section 403 of the Sixth Supplemental Defense Appropriation Act, 1942, as amended;

Now, therefore, the parties hereto agree as follows:

ARTICLE I. As full consideration for the performance of all the contractor's obligations under the vessel contracts the Commission will pay the contractor the sum of \$111,213,553 less all payments heretofore made by the Commission to the contractor under the terms of the vessel contracts.

ART. II. The contractor shall have no further or other obligations under the vessel contracts or on account of the performance of work thereunder, including any obligation to repair, remedy, replace, or make good any defects, break-down or deterioration occurring in any vessel delivered under the vessel contracts. Nothing herein contained, however, shall have the effect of divesting the Commission of title to any vessel or any material, supplies and equipment title to which is vested in the Commission or is to be vested in the Commission pursuant to the provisions of the vessel contracts, and, in the case of the vessels constructed under the vessel contracts designated MCo-8215 and MCo-16309, the contractor will, if so requested by the Commission, assign to the Commission any rights it may have against any manufacturer or seller of material and equipment used in the performance of work under such vessel contracts on account of defects, deteriorations and break-downs in such material and equipment which have not been remedied by or at the expense of the contractor.

ART. III. The contractor shall have no obligation to make any statements or returns of costs to the Commission or to make available to the Commission any of its books, records, or accounts pertaining to the performance of work under the vessel contracts.

ART. IV. The vessel contracts are hereby amended as hereinbefore provided, and, except as hereinbefore otherwise provided, all of the terms and conditions of the vessel contracts shall remain in full force and effect, it being expressly understood and agreed that the payments to be made hereunder are to be subject to renegotiation pursuant to the provisions of section 403 of the Sixth Supplemental Defense Appropriation Act, 1942, as amended.

In witness whereof, the parties hereto have executed this agreement as of the day and year first above written.

UNITED STATES MARITIME COMMISSION,
E. S. LAND, *Chairman*.

Attest:

R. L. McDONALD,
Assistant Secretary.
PENNSYLVANIA SHIPYARDS, INC.,
L. B. COPPINGER, *President*.

Attest:

J. E. BATTARBEE,
Secretary.

Approved as to form:

WADE H. SKINNER,
General Counsel, United States Maritime Commission.

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE
UNITED STATES,
Washington, April 18, 1945.

CHAIRMAN, UNITED STATES MARITIME COMMISSION.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL LAND: Reference is made to my letters of November 13, 1943, January 20, 1944, December 14, 1944, and your reply to the latter dated December 28, 1944 as follows:

"Receipt is acknowledged of your letter dated December 14, 1944, requesting that

you be furnished with copies of final audit reports of Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., Beaumont, Tex., covering contracts Nos. DA-MCc-51, MCo-2199, and MCo-8215.

"The Shipbuilder's Final Report of Cost, Form 9025, covering these contracts, has not been received by the Commission. However, there are enclosed herewith copies of Shipbuilder's Preliminary Final Report of Cost dated June 5, 1944, relating to contracts Nos. DA-MCc-51 and MCo-2199. The final report on each of these contracts, when received, will be forwarded to your office."

The reports of cost referred to in and received with the above-quoted letter apparently were prepared and submitted by the contractor, whereas my request contemplated that a copy of the audit report prepared by representatives of the Commission, pursuant to articles 15 and 16 of the contracts would be furnished.

An examination of the records of the United States Maritime Commission, relating to contracts between the Commission and the Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., reveals that under date of December 31, 1944, four contracts which had been completed were amended so as to provide for a lump-sum settlement thereunder in the amount of \$111,213,553. The completed contracts are as follows:

Contract No.	Date	Ships	Base contract price	Vouchers paid to Feb. 28, 1945
DA-MCc-51.....	Apr. 29, 1941	10	\$24,000,000	\$26,741,691
DA-MCc-2199.....	Feb. 6, 1942	10	24,000,000	26,449,385
DA-MCc-8215.....	Aug. 13, 1942	20	48,000,000	47,166,912
DA-MCc-16309.....	Apr. 20, 1943	4	9,545,200	9,209,087

Articles 15 and 16 of the completed contracts provide:

"ART. 15. Payment of contract price: (a) Partial payments on account of the contract price shall be made during the progress of the work hereunder to the contractor by the Commission at semimonthly or such other intervals as the parties may mutually agree upon. Such partial payments shall be based upon the value of the portion of the work done and materials on hand which is represented by the cost thereof (inclusive of overhead), and the contractor shall accompany each voucher for such partial payment with a statement in form satisfactory to the Commission setting forth such cost. Any payment made on the basis of such voucher shall be subject to adjustment upon final audit by the Commission. The Commission may, upon such terms and conditions as it may prescribe, include, as part of the value of work and materials, work performed by any subcontractor or materials, machinery, or equipment to be installed in the vessels, although not yet delivered, if title to such materials, machinery, or equipment shall have vested in the Commission.

"(b) No payments shall be made except on bills, vouchers, or invoices in such number and form and executed and attested in such manner and supported by such evidence as shall be prescribed by the Commission. All warrants for payments hereunder shall be made payable to the contractor or order.

"(c) Upon launching of each vessel, there shall be paid to the contractor, in addition to the payments provided for in paragraph (a) hereof, the sum of \$32,727, and upon delivery thereof the sum of \$32,727.

"(d) In the event that the payments made under paragraphs (a) and (c) hereof shall, upon completion and delivery of all the vessels and a final audit under this contract, be found to be less than the contract price stated in article 4 and adjusted under the provisions of article 5 and paragraph (a) of article 6, the Commission shall pay to the

contractor an amount equal to (1) 50 percent of the sum by which the contract price, adjusted as aforesaid, exceeds the amount paid under the provisions of paragraphs (a) and (c), less (ii) any liquidated damages payable under article 9 hereof, plus (iii) any bonuses payable under said article 9: *Provided*, That in no event shall the total amount payable under the provision of this paragraph (including bonuses payable under the provisions of article 9 hereof) exceed the sum of \$1,527,272.

"(e) The payments specified in the preceding paragraphs of this article shall constitute full consideration to the contractor for all the work to be performed under the provisions of this contract.

"ART. 16. Determination of cost: (a) For the purposes of making payments under article 15 hereof the term 'cost' as therein used shall include all amounts which the Commission determines are chargeable directly to the construction, outfitting, and equipping of the vessels or to constitute items of overhead expense which are not directly chargeable thereto but are incident and necessary for the work of constructing, outfitting, and equipping the vessels. Such cost shall be determined by the Commission in accordance with the applicable provisions of its 'Regulations Prescribing the Method for Determining Profit, adopted May 4, 1939,' with such modifications as may be necessary due to the fact that the Commission will own some or all of the plant and equipment used by the contractor in the performance of the work called for by this contract.

"(b) In determining cost for the purpose of article 15 hereof the Commission will exclude therefrom (1) any expense, including (without limitation) traveling expense, deemed by the Commission to be excessive, (2) depreciation on the facilities and other property owned by the Commission, (3) the cost of remedying work and replacing materials which are defective because of the failure of the contractor to use reasonable diligence and the cost of performing any

work required under the provisions of article 14, hereof, (4) the exclusions required under paragraph 7.23 of said 'Regulations Prescribing the Method of Determining Profit, Adopted May 4, 1939,' and (5) costs incurred by the contractor in contravention of the provisions of this contract including those of article 17.

"(c) All costs shall be scrutinized by the Commission to determine that they are fair, just, and not in excess of the market price for the materials and services for which they are incurred.

"(d) Statement returns relative to expenditures shall be made as and when directed by the Commission, and all books, files, and other records in respect thereto shall at all times be open for inspection by representatives of the Commission."

Article III of the addenda to the four contracts dated December 31, 1944, provides:

"ART. III. The contractor shall have no obligation to make any statements or returns of costs to the Commission or to make available to the Commission any of its books, records, or accounts pertaining to the performance of work under the vessel contracts."

With reference to the conversation of the cost type of contracts into fixed-price contracts, attention is invited to my letter dated June 21, 1943 (B-34484), to the Secretary of the Navy, which letter, in part, is as follows:

"It appears further that the primary reason for the conversion of the cost type of contracts into fixed-price contracts, at the time the contract work is completed, or is substantially completed, is to relieve the contractor from furnishing evidence establishing that the amount which it represents to be its costs, actually was expended by it and otherwise is proper for reimbursement by the Government. In this connection, paragraph 6 of the memorandum of March 20, supra, provides expressly that the conversion of the cost type of contracts to fixed-price contracts, prior to final payment, will permit a final settlement on the basis of the total fixed amount and will assure both the disbursing officer and the contractor that all payments are within the terms of the contract and are not subject to reexamination, except to the extent of possible action by the Price Adjustment Board. Hence, the effect of converting cost type of contracts into fixed-price contracts before final payment might possibly be construed as nullifying, or rendering ineffective, any audit action this office might take to ascertain that the amounts paid to the contractor by the Navy Department as reimbursement of its actual costs were proper.

"It is recognized that, subject to certain statutory restrictions and limitations, the contract terms with respect to the basis on which payments are to be made are for determination by the administrative office, and, also, that, under the First War Powers Act, 1941, Public Law 354, 77th Congress, and Executive Order 9001, Dec. 27, 1941, the Navy Department is authorized to amend or modify the payment provisions of existing contracts. However, as you undoubtedly realize, there is nothing in the terms of the First War Powers Act, 1941, or in Executive Order 9001, which may be said to affect, in any way, the statutory duty of this office to audit the accounts of disbursing officers, including its right to require such evidence as may be deemed necessary in support of any payments made from appropriated moneys (34 Op. Atty. Gen. 446). Also, as you no doubt are aware, under a contract which provides for reimbursing a contractor its actual costs plus a fixed amount as a fee or profit, the audit function of this office is to ascertain that the amount paid to the contractor as

its costs actually was expended by it in the performance of the work covered by the contract and that, under the terms of said contract, the Government is obligated to reimburse the contractor for such costs; and, in order to enable this office to perform that function, it is necessary that there be furnished by the contractor certain specific evidence from which a determination of the correctness of the payments may be made. See 20 Comp. Gen. 341."

Accordingly, you are advised that any conversion of cost-type contracts into fixed-price contracts, upon completion of the work and before final payment has been made, will not be recognized by this office insofar as such conversions purport to limit the evidence which the contractor will be required to furnish in support of vouchers covering payment under such contracts, and that, "unless vouchers covering the reimbursements to contractors are supported by evidence such as will enable this office to make a satisfactory audit thereof, credit for any such pay-

ments will be withheld in the accounts of the accountable officers concerned."

Sincerely yours,

LINDSAY C. WARREN,
Comptroller General
of the United States.

COMPTROLLER GENERAL
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, June 7, 1945.

CHAIRMAN, UNITED STATES MARITIME COMMISSION.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL LAND: It appears from the records of the United States Maritime Commission that contract No. MCC-34973, dated "as of January 2, 1945," was executed with Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., to provide for the construction of certain vessels originally covered by, and partially completed under, contracts Nos. MCC-26055, dated February 17, 1944, and DA-MCC-858, dated June 14, 1944. The schedule of work completed on the involved vessels is reported to be as follows:

Contract No.	Hull No.	Name	Keel laid	Launched
MCC-26055	2332	Athanasia	Aug. 14, 1944	Oct. 12, 1944
MCC-26055	2333	Hawser Bend	Sept. 4, 1944	Nov. 2, 1944
MCC-26055	2334	Carriek Bend	Sept. 25, 1944	Nov. 21, 1944
MCC-26055	2335	Rose Knot	Oct. 13, 1944	Dec. 6, 1944
MCC-26055	2336	Wall Knot	Oct. 16, 1944	Dec. 9, 1944
MCC-26055	2337	Spanish Bowline	Nov. 3, 1944	Dec. 29, 1944
MCC-26055	2338	Octavia ¹	Nov. 22, 1944	Jan. 18, 1945
MCC-26055	2339	Valentine ¹	Dec. 7, 1944	Feb. 3, 1945
MCC-26055	2340	Emerald Knot	Dec. 11, 1944	Feb. 9, 1945
MCC-26055	2341	Cable Splice	Dec. 13, 1944	Feb. 17, 1945
MCC-26055	2342	Blackwall Hitch	Dec. 30, 1944	Feb. 27, 1945
MCC-26055	2343	Ring Knot	Jan. 20, 1945	
MCC-26055	2344	Sheet Bend	Jan. 20, 1945	
MCC-26055	2345	Studding-Sail	Feb. 5, 1945	
MCC-26055	2346	Mariner's Splice	Feb. 10, 1945	
MCC-26055	2347	Anchor Bend	Feb. 19, 1945	
MCC-26055	2348	Buntline Hitch	Feb. 28, 1945	
MCC-26055	2349	Rolling Hitch		
DA-MCC-858	2620	Capstan Knot		
DA-MCC-858	2621	Hawser Splice		
DA-MCC-858	2622	Loop Knot		
DA-MCC-858	2623	Running Knot		

¹ Transferred to price-minus contract MCC-19778 for delivery to the Navy Department—conversion costs of approximately \$500,000 each to be paid by the Navy.

[Article 4 of the said contract MCC-34973 provides that the Commission will furnish to the contractor the principal items of material, machinery, and equipment to be incorporated in the construction of each vessel, and that the sum of \$802,000 per vessel shall be deducted from the amounts otherwise payable under the contract to cover the items thus furnished. "Representatives of this office have advised that they have been unable to locate any factual data to support the said sum of \$802,000, or any records relating to the maintenance of inventories or the control thereof in the various shipyards." A proper audit of the payments under the involved contract would appear to require supporting data in connection with this phase of the operations under the contract.]

Moreover, article 10 of the said contract MCC-34973 provides:

"ART. 10. Repayment of profits—Optional adjustment in contract price:

"(a) Subsequent to the completion of the work to be performed hereunder and the determination of profits derived from the performance thereof by the Contractor, the Contractor shall pay the Commission an amount equal to that by which such profits exceed the maximum profit as hereinafter defined. The amount of such profit shall be determined by the Commission pursuant to the provisions of its 'regulations prescribing the method of determining profit, adopted May 4, 1939,' including amendments and annotations to September 1, 1941, and for the purpose of such determination the contractor shall make such statements and returns to the Commission as it shall direct

and shall also make available to inspection and audit by representatives of the Commission all books, files, and other records of the contractor or any parent or subsidiary company of the contractor. The present methods of accounting employed by the contractor, including methods for allocating direct and indirect costs, have been found to be satisfactory by the Commission, and the contractor agrees that it will not make any changes in such methods without the approval of the Commission. In making its determination of profits derived by the Contractor from the performance of the work hereunder, the Commission will include in the contractor's cost all proper charges and expenses incurred in connection with the performance of such work, including, but not limited to, (1) recruitment expenses incurred in connection with such recruitment plans as may be approved by the Commission; (2) losses incurred by the contractor due to the necessity of disposing of inventory items acquired for the purpose of performing work under the terms of this contract and not used for such purposes, if the purchases made of such items by the contractor were not unreasonably in excess of the anticipated requirements in respect thereto, and if the Commission shall have been given an opportunity to purchase such items at a price equal to the cost thereof to the contractor and the Commission shall not have elected to purchase such items within 10 days of the receipt of a notice of the contractor's desire to sell the same to the Commission; and (3) the cost of completion or termination of this contract, including the

cost of preserving and protecting any property of the Commission located in the shipyard and legal, accounting, clerical, office, administrative, and other expenses incidental to final settlement of this contract. In addition to the exclusions specifically provided for in the aforementioned regulations, the Commission shall exclude from the contractor's cost, in determining profits as aforesaid, ceremonial launching expenses of whatsoever nature, charitable contributions, and Federal capital stock taxes in excess of amounts approved by the Commission.

"(b) Any amounts in excess of the then unpaid portion of the contract price which may be payable by the contractor to the Commission under the provisions of this article shall be paid by the contractor within 30 days of the date of the receipt of a demand therefor from the Commission.

"(c) The maximum profit for the purposes of this contract shall be the sum of \$665,000 unless and until the amount thereof shall be increased or decreased as hereinafter provided.

"(d) Prior to laying the keel of any one or more of the vessels to be constructed hereunder, the contractor may decrease or increase the unadjusted vessel price for each of the vessels the keels of which have not been laid in the sum of \$50,000, or any multiple thereof, provided that no increase may be made which will cause such unadjusted vessel price to exceed the sum of \$2,200,000. The contractor may thereafter from time to time in like manner and subject to like limitations decrease or increase the unadjusted vessel price for each of the vessels the keels of which have not then been laid. In the event of any such decrease or increase, the contract price shall be decreased or increased, as the case may be, by an amount equal to the decrease or increase in the unadjusted vessel price multiplied by the number of vessels, the keels of which have not then been laid. The contract price as so adjusted shall be subject to the further adjustments theretofore made or thereafter to be made, pursuant to the provisions of the preceding articles 8 and 9 hereof. Each notice of election to decrease or increase the unadjusted vessel price as aforesaid shall be given by the contractor in writing to the Commission and sent by registered mail, addressed to the secretary, United States Maritime Commission, Washington, D. C.

"(e) The term 'maximum vessel profit' as used herein shall mean an amount based on the unadjusted vessel price determined in accordance with the following table:

Unadjusted vessel price	Maximum vessel profit
\$2,200,000	\$25,000
2,150,000	30,000
2,100,000	35,000
2,050,000	40,000
2,000,000	45,000
1,950,000	50,000
1,900,000	55,000
1,850,000	66,000
1,800,000	77,500
1,750,000	89,000
1,700,000	100,000

"In the event of a decrease in the unadjusted vessel price made pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (d) hereof, the maximum profit shall be increased by the difference between the maximum vessel profit shown on the preceding table for the unadjusted vessel price in effect prior to the decrease and that shown on such table for the unadjusted vessel price subsequent to such decrease, multiplied by the number of vessels the keels of which have not been laid. In the event of any increase in the unadjusted vessel price made as aforesaid, the maximum profit shall be decreased by an amount equal to the difference between the maximum vessel profit, shown in the preceding table for

the unadjusted vessel price as so increased and that shown for the unadjusted vessel price as in effect prior to the increase, multiplied by the number of vessels the keels of which have not been laid. In no event, however, shall the maximum profit as adjusted under the provisions hereof exceed the sum of \$1,900,000."

The records further show that said contract MCC-34973, although dated "as of January 2, 1945," was not transmitted to you for signature until February 15, 1945. Thus, it appears that the contractor here involved selected the unadjusted vessel price of \$2,100,000 for each of the first nine vessels, although it is indicated that 12 keels had been laid and 6 hulls launched prior to the actual date of execution of the contract—February 15, 1945. It is understood that the purpose of the so-called selective-fixed price form of contract is to enable the contractor to make a profit commensurate with the risk of loss assumed in the performance of the contract work. That is to say, by the terms of such contract, the contractor is obliged to indicate a fixed price for a particular vessel prior to laying its keel, and if he selects a high price for such vessel—with the comparatively small risk that the cost of construction of such vessel will exceed the price selected—his allowable profit is correspondingly low. However, if, as indicated by the facts presently before this office, the contractor here involved had partially completed several of the vessels—under which circumstances the approximate construction cost of such vessels probably would be known to the contractor—it is difficult to perceive a logical consistency between the theory of the form of contract and the facts existing at the time the subject contract was executed. In other words, the selective-fixed-price form of contract would appear properly for use only where the contractor is required to select the vessel price prior to the laying of its keel—as the contract expressly provides in said article 10.

Article 30 of the contract provides:

"(a) The commission and its chairman have determined that the profits to be derived by the contractor hereunder can be determined with reasonable certainty when the contract price specified was established, and has exempted this contract from the provisions of subparagraphs 1 and 2 of paragraph (b) of section 405 [403] of the Sixth Supplemental National Defense Appropriation Act (Public 528, 77th Cong., 2d sess.) as amended by title VIII of Public Law 753 (77th Cong., 2d sess.) and Public Law 235 (78th Cong.). It is hereby agreed that the contract price hereunder shall not be subject to renegotiation, nor shall the Commission have any right to retain amounts otherwise due the contractor or require the repayment by the contractor of any profits, except as hereinbefore otherwise expressly provided.

"(b) In compliance with said section 405 [403], as amended, the contractor shall insert in the subcontracts specified in said section the provisions required by said section."

Presumably the said article 30 is incorporated in the subject contract pursuant to authority conferred upon the War Contracts Price Adjustment Board under section 403 (1) (4) (B) of the Renegotiation Act, as amended, which authority appears to have been delegated to the Maritime Commission and its chairman with respect to Maritime Commission contracts. (See, in this latter connection, 10 P. R. 1049.) However, in view of the range of \$500,000 (\$2,200,000-\$1,700,000) available to the contractor under said article 10 as a fixed price for each vessel and in view of the difference of \$75,000 (\$100,000-\$25,000) in the amount of the maximum vessel profit allowable thereunder, there is not understood the basis upon which it could have been determined—as recited in said article 30—that "the profits to be derived" under the contract "can be determined with

reasonable certainty when the contract price was established."

A report dated May 1, 1945, submitted by the representatives, of this office in connection with the subject contract, reads in part:

"The following is a summary of payments and costs under Contract No. MCC-34973 through progress payment application No. 5, dated April 21, 1945 (no payments have been made under contract No. MCC-34760):

Base contract price, 9 vessels at \$2,100,000, 10 vessels at \$1,700,000	\$35,900,000.00
Less value of materials furnished by U. S. Marine Corps as specified in art 4 of contract (\$802,000 per vessel)	15,238,000.00
Adjusted contract price	20,662,000.00
Value of work performed for construction based on 61.2645 percent of completion as at Apr. 15, 1945	12,658,470.99
Less contractual hold-back (4 percent)	506,338.84
Total payments on applications	12,152,132.15
Deduct contractor's stated costs as of Apr. 15, 1945:	
Material	525,433.73
Labor	5,566,153.35
Overhead	1,333,920.37
Direct charges	1,145,372.84
	7,570,880.29
Overpayment	4,581,251.86

¹ U. S. Marine Corps exceptions not deducted.

"The huge overpayment reflected above, on the basis of 61.2645 percent of contract completion, would indicate an ultimate overpayment of approximately \$7,487,618, less maximum contract profits of \$1,315,000, or a net overpayment of \$6,172,618."

Apparently the term "overpayment" in the above report is used in the sense that the stated amount will eventually be for repayment to the Government under the provisions of article 10. However, if the facts concerning progress payments under the contract and the amounts of the contractor's costs are as indicated, it would seem obvious that not only were the profits to be derived under the contract not determinable in advance "with reasonable certainty"—thereby raising a question as to the authority to exempt the subject contract from the provisions of the Renegotiation Act, as amended—but that the contractor is receiving under the contract amounts far in excess of what the contract provisions contemplate will be paid—or, at least, retained. It is equally obvious that such a situation is inimical to the interests of the Government even though in this situation the contractor may be financially sound. It is suggested that consideration be given to the withholding of further payments under the subject contract until such time as the contractor's costs, plus allowable profit, more closely approximate the amount of the contract payments.

I should appreciate your views with respect to the matters herein discussed.

Respectfully,

LINDSAY C. WARREN,
Comptroller General of the United States.

Mr. AIKEN. It would appear from a reading of these documents, that when the General Accounting Office became insistent in its demand for cost figures pertaining to certain contracts, the Maritime Commission first submitted reports

of cost which were prepared by the contractor himself. When these reports were not accepted by the General Accounting Office, the Maritime Commission then converted cost-type contracts into fixed-price contracts.

It is apparent that the reason for the change in the form of these contracts was to avoid furnishing evidence establishing that the amounts which were represented to be the costs of the contractor were the actual costs and were proper for reimbursement by the Government.

In plain words, the Maritime Commission in converting cost-type contracts to fixed-price contracts clearly intended to conceal the actual cost of constructing these vessels from the General Accounting Office and to prevent that agency from performing its duties as required by law.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AIKEN. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. Has the Senator introduced a resolution for the purpose of remedying the situation?

Mr. AIKEN. No; I have not. I am glad the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON], who is a member of the Mead committee, is present. I think that committee has authority to go into this matter.

I further call attention of the Senate to the fact that we have a standing committee of the Senate, namely, the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. The duties of that committee should be to examine into the manner in which public money is spent by the various Government departments. The committee was established many years ago and has never been permitted to function because of the lack of funds.

Mr. LANGER. It has no funds?

Mr. AIKEN. No. I believe the committee requires a substantial staff of legal and technical experts, and having once been supplied with them it should work in cooperation with the General Accounting Office. I believe the committee should be made one of the most important committees of the Congress and if it functioned there would be no need for many of the special investigating committees which operate from time to time. I realize, also, that all the special investigating committees which are appointed from time to time have their work cut out for them and do meritorious service.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Swanson, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 3035) to reclassify the salaries of postmasters, officers, and employees of the Postal Service; to establish uniform procedures for computing compensation; and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 3199) making appropriations for the Department of Labor, the Federal Security Agency, and related independent agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30,

1946, and for other purposes; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. HARE, Mr. TARVER, Mr. THOMAS of Texas, Mr. KIRWAN, Mr. ENGEL of Michigan, Mr. KEEFE, and Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN, were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

WAR AGENCIES APPROPRIATION

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 3368) making appropriations for war agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOEV in the chair). The pending amendment of the committee will be stated.

The amendment was, on page 15, line 15, after "\$39,670,215", to strike out "reducing the Office of War Information by \$17,000,000 to apply to the estimates for activities in Europe and the United States."

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, I may be chasing the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow; I may be indulging in fond but vain hopes, but before my distinguished and lovable friend from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ] makes the motion which he announced on the 20th of June that he would make, I wish to make some observations in the hope that I may be able to convince him and his cosponsors of the FEPC that he should not press his motion at this time.

On the 20th of June 1945 the Senator from New Mexico made the following statement:

Mr. President, at the direction of the Committee on Appropriations, I submit the following notice in writing:

"In accordance with rule XL of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to suspend paragraphs 1 and 4 of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H. R. 3368), making appropriations for war agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes, the following amendment, namely: On page 1, after line 8, insert the following:"

That amendment has been reduced to print, and is on every Senator's desk. Presently the Senator from New Mexico will make the motion which he announced that he would make. He is so persistent and so insistent, or has been such, that on yesterday he made several observations. Among them he expressed a desire that the Senate convene at 11 o'clock today and at the end of the day hold a night session. Few Senators wish for the Senate to convene at 11 o'clock on any day, and there is a fewer number of them who wish to be held in the Senate Chamber during the night in order to discuss weighty problems of government.

In the pending bill, if my calculation is correct, there is provision for 16 war agencies. I will name them so that the public may know just what my friend from New Mexico and his cosponsors are planning to do. The agencies to which I refer are as follows: The National War Labor Board, Office of Alien Property Custodian, Office of Defense Transportation, Office of Economic Stabilization, Office of Scientific Research and Development, Office of Inter-American Affairs,

Office of War Information, War Production Board, Smaller War Plants Corporation, War Shipping Administration, Office of Censorship, Office of Strategic Services, Petroleum Administration for War, Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, Selective Service, and War Relocation Authority—16 important war agencies.

The bill now under consideration contains appropriations for the life and maintenance of these 16 agencies as provided in the bill as it passed the House. A herculean effort was made in the House by the sponsors of the FEPC to incorporate an appropriation for the continuance of the FEPC; but all in vain. So the bill came to the Senate with 16 agencies; it went to the Senate Committee on Appropriations with 16 agencies; it came out of the committee with 16 agencies; it is now under consideration; we are practically through passing on these 16 agencies, and in a few minutes we could have a roll call and these 16 agencies would be perpetuated by an appropriation of the Congress, and there would be no trouble.

But since the 20th day of June we have been threatened by my distinguished and lovable friend from New Mexico, a gentleman from the wild and woolly West, who is coming up with his little squirt gun and is going to squirt into this bill the poison of the FEPC.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I cannot yield now; I do not want to be disturbed.

The Senator from New Mexico is going to squirt his poison into this bill, and when he does he knows that he is going to kill these 16 war agencies in the bill, which is now ready to be consummated by a vote of the Senate.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Will my good friend yield now?

Mr. BILBO. I will not yield yet.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi declines to yield.

Mr. BILBO. I am afraid the Senator from New Mexico might disturb the continuity of my thoughts.

Mr. President, if the Senator from New Mexico makes the motion—and I beg of him, I pray that he will not make it; but if he makes it and a sufficient number of Senators vote to suspend the rule of the Senate, which is a necessary procedure in order to inject this poison into the bill, it will bring about the death of these 16 agencies by midnight Saturday; and I want the world to know that the responsibility of killing these 16 agencies is upon the shoulders of the sponsors of this damnable legislative monstrosity called the FEPC. Why? Because for days and weeks we have been giving the sponsors of the FEPC notice that those who believe that this is the worst and most vicious piece of legislation in the history of the American Congress were going to fight it to the death, and with extended remarks, in order that the American people might know all there is connected with the FEPC. I say that in good faith, not as a filibusterer. I am not filibustering yet, but whenever the Senator from New Mexico makes his motion to suspend the

rule, I give him warning now that the filibuster will start. This is merely a prelude, if you please.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me now?

Mr. BILBO. I will not yield; I am busy.

This thing they call the FEPC was born in sin and brought forth in iniquity. Some Senators possibly do not know the history of it, and I have a suspicion—indeed, I have a faith—that if the thinking people of America knew how this miserable concoction was brought about they would rise up and say, "Kill the snake, and kill it now."

I am reading from a new book, the title of which is "What the Negro Wants." It is edited by Rayford W. Logan, who is a gentleman of color, and the contributors to this book are Mary McLeod Bethune, Sterling A. Brown, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Gordon B. Hancock, Leslie Pinckney Hill, Langston Hughes, Rayford W. Logan, Frederick D. Patterson, A. Philip Randolph—do not forget that name—George S. Schuyler, Willard S. Townsend, Charles H. Wesley, Doxey A. Wilkerson, and Roy Wilkins—the worst of them all.

I find in the book, on page 16, where the true story of the origin of the FEPC is set forth.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, if the Senator from Mississippi will yield, how many pages are there in the book?

Mr. BILBO. For the Senator's information, I will say there are 352 pages, but I shall read only one of them now.

Mr. CHANDLER. Is the Senator on page 16?

Mr. BILBO. I am about to read from page 16.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I understand there are 16 volumes in the set, and the Senator is reading from only one volume. Is that correct?

Mr. BILBO. That is correct.

Mr. President, if you want to know how this thing was brought about in American life, listen to this Negro by the name of Logan, who edits this book:

In recent years some Negroes have adapted an old American technique for the solution of the problem, namely, the march on Washington.

Since—

Listen to this—this is Logan talking—

Since I sat with Mr. A. Philip Randolph and Mr. Eugene Davidson in the all-day conference with Mayor LaGuardia, of New York, and Mr. Aubrey Williams—

Members of the Senate have heard of him, I believe—

that culminated in the President's Executive Order 8802 of June 25, 1941, I can bespeak the power—

Listen—

I can bespeak the power—

Power of what?—

the power of a threatened march.

What march? A march on Washington.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a moment?

Mr. BILBO. No.

Power of the threatened march is what brought about the signing and issuance of Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I will ask the Senator to wait until I get through, and I will yield to him then. The article continues:

There are, however, definite limitations on this power.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President—

Mr. BILBO. I trust the Senator will not insist. I have the floor. I very courteously refused to yield. When I get through I will yield. So I shall ask the Senator just to be quiet until I get through. I read further:

There are, however, definite limitations on its power. Restrictions on travel have nullified it for the duration of the war and will probably curtail it in the crucial period when the European peace conference is held. Housing conditions in Washington and in many other "boom" cities during these same periods further restrict the number who would "march." Even under the best conditions, the march can be used only occasionally unless such a small number participate as to make the march appear to be a bluff. Constant vigilance would have to be exercised against agents, provocateurs, or outside hoodlums determined to create disorder or a riot. I definitely favor the March-on-Washington or on other cities only as a rare, dramatic, powerful weapon which should be used only when all other methods have failed.

In other words, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Pullman Car Porters Union, along with his confederates, with the aid and assistance of the NAACP—

Mr. President, a note has just been handed me by the Senator from New Mexico, and I will just have to yield to him. [Laughter.]

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, on account of previous engagements, I ask unanimous consent that I may be excused from attending sessions of the Senate today and tomorrow, and until I return sometime on Friday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the leave is granted.

Mr. HATCH. I thank the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. BILBO. It was a pleasure. One vote gone. [Laughter.]

A. Philip Randolph, with the aid and assistance of the NAACP, under the administration of Walter White, had organized 200,000 Negroes, and had announced they were going to march on Washington, and remain here until they had obtained what they wanted. In those days we were preparing for war; we were busy, and the President did not want any such tragedy to happen in the city of Washington. He knew it meant a riot, he knew it meant trouble, he knew it meant bloodshed. All day long Eugene Davidson, Randolph, Aubrey Williams, and LaGuardia, wrestled with the President, and they finally persuaded him, and under this threat, as this Negro said, of the march on Washington and the disastrous results and consequences of 200,000 Negroes being thrown into

Washington all in a day, the President signed, under force, under threat, Order No. 8802, to satisfy and pacify and to stop this insistent minority that proposed to do by force what they had been unable to do through regular legislative channels in a free government.

Mr. President, that was the birth of the movement. Later they insisted that the President go further, and he issued a second order. I have forgotten the number of it, but the effect was the same. It is under this set-up, under these two Executive orders, that the FEPC has been operating.

Mr. President, I wish to read an editorial from the News and Courier of Charleston, S. C., which gives one excuse for the FEPC:

For the passage by Congress of a bill perpetuating the FEPC, at least one argument can be advanced. It would make the issue plain. Were the bill to become law and attempt to enforce it were made, it would and it should be disobeyed and resisted in the South. The South should put those who would enforce it on notice that they would need send an army of coercion to occupy the South—even as armies are this day occupying Germany.

The proponents of the measure would as well understand that the right of a textile corporation, of a newspaper corporation, a bank, or any other corporation or employer, to discriminate between races will be upheld by force, in the South, if necessary, that nothing short of military coercion will prevent the South from nullifying an FEPC bill if it shall become a law.

The FEPC bill is a preliminary step toward compelled racial amalgamation, and the News and Courier is convinced that the overwhelming majority of northern white people are opposed to it. It is convinced that the rational leaders of colored people in the South are also opposed to it.

If another reconstruction is to be attempted in the South, the sooner that the issue shall be understood, the better for the American people. Passage of the FEPC bill by Congress would uncover the designs of the politicians who would sell out the white race for the Negro vote in a dozen great American cities.

If we abstract and take away from the FEPC issue its value as a vote-getting proposition, there will not be enough votes for this bill in the Congress to conduct a funeral.

Mr. President, I am not filibustering, but I intend to if the motion is made to suspend the rule.

With reference to filibustering, I do not think it is so bad, after all. I received the following telegram from New York:

JUNE 22, 1945.

Senator THEODORE G. BILBO:

Organized newspaper men and women—

I hope the boys in the Press Gallery are not organized—

Organized newspaper men and women object to any attempt to filibuster FEPC measure. Certain all advocates of democracy agree such technique strikes at the heart of American traditions.

JOHN F. RYAN,

General Organizer, Newspaper Guild of New York.

Well, I am not going to step on anybody's toes in the newspaper world—un-

less they are organized. This is what I wired in reply:

General Organizer John F. Ryan.

I could not tell whether he was white or black. I just called him organizer.

Your audacious telegram of June 22 was received today and I note your observations on the right of a Senator to filibuster against rotten and communistic proposed legislation. The right, righteousness, and privilege of a Senator to speak without limit against vicious, un-American, and unconstitutional legislative monstrosities like the FEPC are honored with greater age than either you or any of your Newspaper Guild members. I know I am a better Democrat than any member of your organization. I do not have to prove it. I admit it. I am fighting for and in behalf of true American democracy, American freedom, and the American way of life, all of which is denied in the damnable FEPC proposed legislation. The legislative history of the American Senate shows that every successful filibuster has in after years proved the wisdom and virtue of the right of filibustering. When you question the technique of so-called filibustering and charge that it strikes at the heart of American traditions you lay yourself wide open to the indictment that you neither know nor understand anything about American traditions.

I want all to hear this:

Let me tell you and your organization that if these pinkish, communistic, off-brand, minority pressure groups keeps on trying to force their foolish, un-American and unconstitutional conceptions upon free America you will eventually arouse the wrath of the great majority of liberty-loving free Americans to such a point that they will figuratively liquidate the whole miserable and conglomerate gang or gangs. Yours for good old America in the same good old way.

THEO. G. BILBO,
United States Senator.

Mr. President, I wish to repeat what is in that telegram. If these minorities which are coming to the Congress with all sorts of communistic, foolish, absurd, unconstitutional, and un-American propositions, in what they call a New Deal or a New Order, or whatever they want to call it, continue their present activities, by-and-by the American people, the great rank and file of the thinking, stable, and reliable American people, are going to become fed up on it, there will be a revolution in this country, and the people will put this bunch out of business. For a while we had government by bureaus—a bureaucratic government. Now an effort is being made to have a government by minorities.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Does not the Senator from Mississippi believe that the States themselves can handle this problem?

Mr. BILBO. Certainly I do. Governor Dewey and the Legislature of New York think they can handle it, because the legislature has already passed a very strong FEPC law. The State of New Jersey has also passed one. The telegram of opposition which I just read comes from the great State of New York, which already has an FEPC law. I wonder what will happen to the poor people of New

York State when they are faced with two regiments or two armies—one representing the State of New York and the other representing the Federal Government, if Congress were to pass FEPC legislation? I wonder what will happen to the people of that State when military units are authorized to go into every man's private business in New York to see if he has hired a certain Jew, to see if he has hired a certain Negro, or a certain Pole, or a certain Italian, or a certain Catholic, or a certain someone else.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Does not the Senator believe that we should permit the States which already have passed a law dealing with the subject to try it out and see how it works with them before we try to enact a national law?

Mr. BILBO. Precisely.

A few days ago I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a petition signed by members of the bar of the State of Massachusetts begging the Legislature of Massachusetts to withhold any action until it was seen how the law would work in the State of New York. I understand the Legislature of Massachusetts did not pass the proposed measure. If I am wrong I wish someone would correct me.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. I believe the Senator feels as I do. The Senator resents, as I do, someone 3,000 miles away from the South or from our State telling us how to conduct the affairs of our State.

Mr. BILBO. I certainly believe in local self-government, and the less government we have on the banks of the Potomac the happier and better the people of this country will be. We have too much of it, anyway.

The other day I received a telegram from the State of Georgia signed by a lot of Negroes and white Quislings of that great State in the South. I replied to it. I shall not take the time of the Senate to read what I said to them on that occasion, but I ask that it may be printed at this point in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
June 19, 1945.

Rev. WILLIAM HOLMES BORDERS,
Dr. M. ASHEY JONES, and
ARMAND MAY,
Atlanta, Ga.

DEAR GEORGIANS: Your letter of June 19, enclosing an alleged petition from the citizens of the State of Georgia addressed to the Members of the Congress of the United States and a list of the national groups supporting a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission, was received today.

I note that you state that your petition was circulated for a period of only 4 days, but it is strange and mystifying that you did not give the address of any petitioner; so it is natural to presume that the great majority of these petitioners, representing Negroes, quislings of the white race, and other racial minorities hail from the city of Atlanta, the hotbed of southern Negro intelligentsia, Communists, pinks, Reds, and other off-brands of American citizenship in the South.

In your letter you make the following statement: "We had thought for some time there was widespread misunderstanding of the provisions of this bill." You never uttered a greater truth than you have in these words. If the American people—North, South, East, and West—really understood the provisions of the so-called FEPC bill, there would be a Nation-wide revolution against its perpetuation.

You or someone for you have drafted a petition that contains more misinformation—or shall I say downright misrepresentations—erroneous conclusions, and mischievous impressions than I have seen in any one document in a lifetime. I am sure that persons of really intelligent, informed, and analytical minds would not have signed this petition because it is wholly fraudulent on its face.

I note with special interest the incomplete list of national groups supporting the so-called permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission. The names of these groups unquestionably reveal the two outstanding groups of American citizens who are urging the passage of this most communistic legislative monstrosity ever presented to the Congress. Of course, there are many good, well-meaning citizens who are members of the organizations that you list, but those who control the policies of these mingy groups are totally and wholly unmindful of the definite provisions of the Constitution of the United States, the rights of the American people, and in general the American way of life.

You state in your petition: "Today two schools of thought are in conflict: Democracy with its philosophy of individual rights and dignity; fascism, with its ideology of force built on discrimination against racial and religious minorities."

The whole conception of the proposed FEPC legislation is most certainly in violation of the American doctrine of individual rights and dignity. The whole scheme of this communistic conception of government is to use force instead of education, training, and culture to attain the evident ends and purposes of the sponsors of this un-American and unconstitutional legislative monstrosity.

This legislation is entirely foreign to the principles of American democracy and philosophy of the dual system of our great scheme of constitutional government. This proposed legislation is a studied and planned scheme of the communistic minds of this country to drive the entering wedge that will eventually split and destroy the unity that should obtain in every part of our country and with our American people regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin.

I did not mean to refer in this statement to our late lamented President Roosevelt who issued his directive No. 8802 under the threat and force of the "On to Washington movement" of 200,000 Negroes who, under the leadership of A. Phillip Randolph, threatened to overrun Washington in the midst of our war preparation with these 200,000 Negroes. The President had to do something to avert this tragic scene and disruption at the time.

The purposes and results of the FEPC will be discontent, dissatisfaction, and innumerable race conflicts not alone in the South but in every community and State of our Nation. The principles of equality, justice, fair dealings, and guaranty of the rights of the individual citizen regardless of race, creed, color, religion, or national origin must be brought about by the processes of education, training, and culture.

Many of the sponsors of this "damnphool" legislation have been led to believe that by its enforcement they will break down the social, cultural, and color lines that are naturally drawn because of the traits, creeds,

peculiarities, and nationalities of our cosmopolitan population. These wild pink-eyed liberals or socialistic dreamers, knowing that by nature water and oil will not mix, propose by force and through an act of Congress to do the impossible.

The intelligentsia of the Negro race believes that through the FEPC they will hasten the day of destroying the color line and bring about social equality between the white man and the black man by which the wise ones hope eventually, by the process of miscegenation and mongrelization, to destroy both the white and black races.

No good citizen wants to deny equal and exact justice to any citizen because of race, creed, color, religion, or national origin. Neither does a good citizen want to rob other citizens of an equal opportunity to live and to make a living for themselves and their loved ones, but when the unthinking and uninformed minority leaders think that by a mere act of the Congress they can rob free American citizens of the right to employ such labor as best suits their businesses and their environments and their customers, we have forgotten the American ideals and ways and adopted the communistic concepts of totally un-American and foreign ideologies.

You do the Democratic Party a great injustice when you charge that in its platform of 1944 it pledged the support of the party to a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee or Commission. There is not one word in the Democratic platform of 1944 that would justify any such unreasonable conclusion.

The right-thinking people of the United States everywhere, as they begin to understand the meaning of the FEPC legislation and its invasion of the individual rights of the American citizen and American businessman, are now registering their opposition to this fantastic and communistic un-American and unconstitutional ideology.

A few States have been driven by threats and intimidation of pinkish minorities to enact laws along these un-American lines but I think I am safe in saying that in the fields of trial these States will regret and repent of their error and gradually drift back to the good old free American way of life.

Speaking for myself, I will leave nothing undone this side of heaven or hell to defeat this damnable legislative scheme.

Yours truly,

THEO G. BILBO.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, the petition from Georgia was signed, among others, by Lillian Smith. Have Senators ever heard of her? She is the author of the book entitled "Strange Fruit." If Senators have not read that book I hope to God they never will. It is one of the dirtiest pieces of literature that has ever been printed and circulated. It is so rotten that even the city of Boston drove it out. Boston would not have it. There are words and pen pictures in that book that are enough to corrupt American minds. It is not surprising that the colored ladies and gentlemen rush to the bookstores to buy Lillian Smith's Strange Fruit, because the theme of the book is the glorification of a love affair between a white man and a Negro woman.

Last night I received through the mail copy of a speech entitled "The White Christian and His Conscience," by Lillian Smith. I notice that the speech has been delivered—and one can tell what it is by where it was delivered—at Ford

Hall Forum in Detroit, the Institute of International Relations, Columbus, Ohio, the Community Church in New York, and in several other places. I am not going to reply to this speech now, but it was delivered in the interest of the FEPC. I am saving that for the filibuster—do Senators understand?

The next day, after I had made some observations on the petition sent from Georgia, a certain lady in this country, who writes an article in the Washington Daily News under the head of My Day, proceeded to rush to the defense of these folks down in Georgia. Let me read to the Senate what she said:

HYDE PARK, Sunday.—I have just received from Georgia a copy of a petition which some citizens of that State have sent to Members of Congress, urging enactment of the Fair Employment Practice Commission bill.

"Establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission is supported by some sixty-odd national organizations," the petition states. "Both the Republican Party and the Democratic Party are committed to such legislation by their party platforms."

Many Senators believe that Mrs. Roosevelt is intelligent, but here she is making that kind of a statement in the public press, and I defy any man to take the Democratic Party platform and find where, in one line, we endorsed the FEPC.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President—

Mr. BILBO. I ask the Senator to keep his seat. I am not ready for him yet. "by their party platforms, as well as by the fact that the Presidential nominees of both parties promised support to this legislation in the last national campaign."

That might be true. A man on the hustings running for office and trying to secure votes is likely to say anything. I have been a candidate myself.

"We are approaching the end of our military war. Events are moving swiftly."

She is quoting from the petition. Then she proceeds at length to try to defend the stand taken in the petition:

The petition is signed by many of the finest and most progressive white citizens of Georgia, as well as by many highly respected colored citizens. Mass meetings have been held in favor of the enactment of this legislation in both Washington and New York, and, I imagine, in other places.

A little mass meeting was held in Washington the other night. Walter White came down from New York, and he succeeded in having a few offcolors come and they held a meeting.

From our domestic point of view, I think it is of great importance to us that we establish once and for all the principle that there shall be no discrimination in economic opportunity among our citizens. It is not only the colored people who are concerned. We have many other minority groups who have felt the pressure of discrimination when it came to the question of employment. We have fought a war to establish the dignity of the individual—his freedom and his equal rights as a human being.

Mr. President, I agree with most of those statements. But when I say that I believe in the Negro having his rights I do not mean that it is his right to walk

into my home and to associate with my family, or marry my daughter, or go to school with my children. I do not mean that. But he has his rights. And while Governor of Mississippi for 8 years, when I found that there had been a miscarriage of justice against the poor Negro I did not hesitate to release him from the penitentiary or save his neck by executive order.

We cannot very well permit at home conditions which would curtail, or make more difficult, that freedom from want which is one of the basic freedoms that must exist side by side with political and religious freedom.

The minute Mrs. Roosevelt read my attack on the people of Georgia, she said they were great people, wonderful people, outstanding people.

Let me read something from Georgia. I have heard from Georgia again. This is from Atlanta:

DEAR SENATOR: Congratulations on your reference to Atlanta's Communist in today's Atlanta Journal; you are quite right. I hope you fight this iniquity and urge others to do so.

The signers of that petition are Negroes, negrophiles, and a cheap grade of Communist.

Let me repeat that because I want my friend from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER] to hear it:

The signers of that petition are Negroes, negrophiles, and a cheap grade of Communist.

He names them in that order.

I name them in the order of their importance. The reason they did not give addresses it would have indicated who the signers were and would have exposed some forged or fake names.

I received the following letter in reference to a telegram which was sent to me:

Last night you were sent a telegram pertaining to the FEPC. Here are the names, addresses, and phone numbers of the men who came to my office to send the message to you.

This letter is from one of the outstanding lawyers of Atlanta. He gives a list of approximately 40 names, with the addresses and telephone numbers. But in connection with the list of signatures to the petition about which I spoke, and which Mrs. Roosevelt is trying to defend, no addresses were given. We all know how that petition was drawn up. I find Lillian Smith's name on it, but her address is not given. Her address is Clayton, Ga.

The minute I tried to show the character of the petitioners and the motives behind the petition from Georgia, my good friend Mrs. Roosevelt rushed into public print to defend them, and say that they were the cream of the crop.

No family in the history of America has had more honors bestowed upon it than the family of Franklin D. Roosevelt. No man in American history deserves more honor than Franklin D. Roosevelt himself, and there has been no stronger Roosevelt admirer or supporter than the speaker on this occasion. But I had hoped that when Mrs. Roosevelt, the wife of this great and good man,

had returned to the quiet shades of the ancestral home on the historic Hudson, she would be perfectly willing, after more than 12 years of full and active life, trying in her way to run the Government, to call it a day and leave it to others to carry on. I had hoped that she would cancel her contract for My Day and keep her proboscis out of controversial questions which Members of Congress are trying to settle in the interest of their constituents and for the welfare of the Nation as a whole.

In this connection I have another thought. If this good woman had given one-half the attention to rearing and directing the lives and affairs of her own brood that she has given to trying to force recognition and social equality of the American Negro, she would not today be embarrassed with headline stories about some of her offspring.

That is enough about the lady from Hyde Park for the present.

I wish to read a letter from Georgia. I shall not give the names of the writers of these letters, because I have not had time to communicate with them and obtain their permission to use their names. I do not care to put their names in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD without the permission of the writers. This writer states, as follows:

The white people of Atlanta and all Georgia should be, and I'm sure they are, most thankful that you put your finger on the sore spot of disunity—Atlanta. Your statement as reported by AP and carried in Atlanta papers was timely and correct.

For many months we have been bedeviled with nagging editorials—pseudo uplifters—slanted radio commentators, and what not. All Georgia is just as sick and tired of being driven around like dumb cattle as I am sure you in Washington must be.

Newsstands are loaded with pro-Negro propaganda. Churchmen have been roped in on the deal to soften the South and, just as you say, every variety of propink radical imagination seems to feel that we are ready to turn over southern tradition to the slick schemers for a brown America.

It is the hope of this writer that you will continue to be the fearless foe of devilry that you have always been; that you will keep on exposing the malefactors of the FEPC and its allies, to the end that we may some day have peace and harmony, and not civil war when our boys come home.

Here is another letter, just received this morning. I am almost tempted to give the name of the writer, but I shall not do so:

JUNE 25, 1945.

HON. THEODORE G. BILBO,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Please permit me to congratulate you on possessing that fine type of Americanism enabling you to write such a clear and convincing letter to a committee of local citizens (blacks, white, and radicals), who asked you to assist in putting over the FEPC bill. The men with your courage are all too few. What will become of our beloved country if it is to be administered in the interest of minorities? Minorities have their rights, but the right to rule is not included.

Please urge our good President to administer the United States of America in the interest of the great majority, that is the good

men and women of both parties. Unfortunately they are unorganized, but they total millions. If he will do this he will draw unto himself millions, and he will not have to worry about reelection. He will reenter the White House with thirty-odd million votes.

A very good friend of yours who was with me here recently, gave me the good report that you had entirely regained your full strength and health. I was mighty glad to hear it. You are needed to battle for America in this very critical hour.

My best wishes go out to you.

Here is a letter from a good woman. It is on the letterhead of the Henry Grady Hotel, Atlanta:

MY DEAR MR. BILBO: I know that I am echoing the feelings of thousands of southerners when I express my unbounded thanks for your stand against the FEPC and for your courage to reply as you did to the leaders of the recent petition sent you from this city.

Lillian Smith—

She knows her.

Lillian Smith, Ashby Jones—

A defunct ex-Baptist preacher—

and their coworkers have openly declared their fight "to the death" against all segregation of the races and have stated that the only solution of the race problem lies in the dissolution of one race into the other.

Let me digress at this point to say that the sum and substance of the hope, prayer, and desire of every one of the 18 spokesmen for the Negro race in the United States led by Dr. Boas as appears from the book, *What the Negro Wants*, is social equality and intermarriage of the races. There are 19 States in America which do not prohibit the marriage of Negroes and whites. The District of Columbia is also in that category. Any one who has no more regard for the integrity of the white race than to encourage, permit, or insist upon intermarriage of the races ought to be liquidated, deported, or put out of business in some way.

I continue reading from the letter:

Their battle cry is miscegenation, and four times within recent months I have seen in their papers the following quotation from an article by one D. G. Croly, who coined the words: "All that is needed to make us the finest race on earth is to engraft upon our stock the Negro element which Providence"—

And all the time I thought it was the slave traders—

"has placed by our side on this continent. We must become yellow-skinned, black-haired people if we would obtain the fullest results of civilization."

That is the dream of most of the Negro intelligentsia—not all of them, thank God.

Lillian Smith was a student at Columbia University, and fell under the tutelage of that distinguished anthropologist, Dr. Boas, a German Jew, from Germany, who thought that interbreeding of the whites and blacks was the proper solution of the race question. The Senator from North Dakota did not fall under his teachings; I am sure of that.

I read further from the letter:

In an address last week, one of the speakers for FEPC used these phrases, which I was able to take down: "The organic universality

of the human race"; "the physical and biological unification of mankind"; "the necessity for the merging of the races in the United States."

At a gathering of business people the other evening mention was made of the Negro petition sent you. One executive of a business firm here stated that he could find 7,000 opponents to FEPC in less time than Ashby Jones et al., got their 700 signers, but that they, like him, hesitated to have their names published because of fear of recriminations and labor trouble. All those present expressed apprehension over the snooping of Negro organizations and white radicals in their efforts to ascertain the attitudes of employers and record in their black book the names of those who oppose their philosophy and schemes.

It seems to me that our democracy has suffered a severe blow when the threats of a powerful minority group can stifle the freedom of expression of another group. I know that thousands of your fellow southerners support you in your fight to prevent the passage of the unfair employment practices legislation. Thank you and more power to you.

Now I read a letter from Atlanta, Ga.:

ATLANTA, GA., June 23, 1945.

Senator BILBO of Mississippi,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I want to congratulate you on your stand against M. Ashby Jones, William Borders, and Armand May, of Atlanta, because they certainly do not represent the people generally of Atlanta. Jones quit as a Baptist minister, and has been working for the Negroes, Jews, and Catholics with the general belief prevailing he is being paid by the Rosenwald fund; so I have no confidence in anything he says.

I do not know about that; I am just reading the letter. It continues as follows:

The Lord would not have made the Negroes black and other race white if He had intended them to be equal socially, so all attempts to equalize the races socially is directly against divine intentions and nature in my opinion.

I have just finished reading—and I recommend it to the scholars and students of the Senate—a book by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. The title is "Color and Democracy." The writing of the book was finished on the 1st day of January 1945. In the book Dr. DuBois takes the position that all the work which has been done at San Francisco is null and void, and that we are headed for another war, and that the next war will be a race war. He says it will not be long in coming. He says that the way in which the colonials of all the empires and countries of the world will be treated under the San Francisco Charter is such that there will be dissatisfaction and unrest and a rebellion of the colored people of all the nations of all the earth against the white man and his rule.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me now?

Mr. BILBO. Not yet. I am just getting started, and I do not want to be bothered.

Dr. DuBois says in his book that there is no question that there will be a race war. He tells how it will come about. He says that the San Francisco Charter does not do anything about it because it does not give recognition or any hope to the colonials or to the minorities within the free countries, including the United

States. Therefore, he says, they are under his leadership, ready to be led into an all-out world race war and conflict. His book is calculated to do more harm and to twist and corrupt and mislead the brains of more Negroes in the United States than any book which has been written in a century. That was the purpose of the book. The author not only prophesies a world war between the races but he really wants it to occur, because he thinks the members of the colored races outnumber the whites, and that when the war comes it will be his day. Dr. DuBois is a Massachusetts Negro. He was born in Massachusetts. He went south, and was educated at Fisk University. He went back north and went to Harvard College, and later was educated in Germany. He says he had to run away from Germany to keep from marrying a white woman.

Now he is the head research man of the NAACP, Walter White's organization in New York, and this book is one of the fruits of the NAACP, for the support of which some of you philanthropists are contributing your money.

There is another book which should be taken off the book racks of the Nation; it should be removed from the book stores; its sale should be stopped. It is the recent book of the month, which has had such a great sale. Senators can understand why it has had such a sale if they will read it. It is entitled "Black Boy," by Richard Wright. Richard Wright is a Mississippian. He was born and reared near Natchez, Miss. He went from Natchez to Jackson, from Jackson to Memphis, from Memphis to Chicago, and from Chicago to Brooklyn, N. Y., where he is married to a white woman and is living happily, he says. He wrote the book *Black Boy* ostensibly as the story of his life. Actually it is a damnable lie from beginning to end. It is practically all fiction. There is just enough truth to it to enable him to build his fabulous lies about his experiences in the South and his description of the people of the South and the culture, education, and life of the southern people. The purpose of the book is to plant the seeds of hate in every Negro in America against the white men of the South or against the white race anywhere, for that matter. That is the purpose. Its purpose is to plant the seeds of devilment and trouble-breeding in the days to come in the mind and heart of every American Negro. Read the book if you do not believe what I am telling you. It is the dirtiest, filthiest, lousiest, most obscene piece of writing that I have ever seen in print. I would hate to have a son or daughter of mine be permitted to read it; it is so filthy and so dirty. But it comes from a Negro, and you cannot expect any better from a person of his type.

Now I wish to read another letter. It comes from Georgia:

JUNE 22, 1945.

Senator BILBO, of Mississippi,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I enclose the clipping from last night's Journal. I felt you would be interested in having it.

I have just had lunch with a leading citizen who holds the same view I have and that is that we agree fully with your statement and yet though we do know what a lot of sorry folks we have here, yet they are a very small majority. As an actual fact we have some mighty fine folks here and we are all proud of our State.

What impressed me most was a statement made by this friend I ate luncheon with and it was this:

"They had 736 signatures on that petition, but if they had taken the signatures of those who are against that petition and against the FEPC they would have had over 10,000 names on that one to the 736 names that had for it."

That proportion you see is a ratio of 7.3 for and 92.7 percent against it. So you can let your constituents and associates know that regardless of that petition they represent a mighty small ratio. I bet further, too, that of the majority of those who signed it, that they do not even know what it is all about.

More strength to you. Just please keep my name out of the picture, please.

Cordially yours.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. BAILEY. The amendment under discussion refers to certain Executive orders. Have they been printed in the RECORD?

Mr. BILBO. I did not understand the Senator's question.

Mr. BAILEY. The amendment under discussion refers to certain Executive orders. I wish to know if those orders have been printed in the RECORD.

Mr. BILBO. No; they have not been printed in the RECORD.

Mr. BAILEY. I had great difficulty in getting them, but I now have them. I think they should be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. BILBO. I also think they should be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. BAILEY. At this point, or at the conclusion of the Senator's speech—

Mr. BILBO. I shall be glad to have them included now.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point Executive Order 8802, and Executive Order 9346.

There being no objection, the Executive orders were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802—REAFFIRMING POLICY OF FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE DEFENSE PROGRAM BY ALL PERSONS, REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED, OR COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN, AND DIRECTING CERTAIN ACTION IN FURTHERANCE OF SAID POLICY

Whereas it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens of the United States, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the Democratic way of life within the Nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

Whereas there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in defense production solely because of consideration of race, creed, color, or national origin, to the detriment of workers' morale and of national unity:

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, and as a prerequisite to the suc-

cessful conduct of our national defense production effort, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries, or Government because of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of such policy and of this order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

And it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

2. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

3. There is established in the Office of Production Management a Committee on Fair Employment Practice which shall consist of a chairman and four other members to be appointed by the President. The chairman and members of the Committee shall serve as such without compensation but shall be entitled to actual and necessary transportation, subsistence, and other expenses incidental to performance of their duties.

The Committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of the provisions of this order and shall take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid. The Committee shall also recommend to the several departments and agencies of the Government of the United States and to the President all measures which may be deemed by it necessary or proper to effectuate the provisions of this order.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, June 25, 1941.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9346—FURTHER AMENDING EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 8802 BY ESTABLISHING A NEW COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE AND DEFINING ITS POWERS AND DUTIES

In order to establish a new Committee on Fair Employment Practice, to promote the fullest utilization of all available manpower, and to eliminate discriminatory employment practices, Executive Order No. 8802 of June 25, 1941, as amended by Executive Order No. 8823 of July 18, 1941, is hereby further amended to read as follows:

"Whereas the successful prosecution of the war demands the maximum employment of all available workers regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin; and

"Whereas it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the war effort by all persons in the United States regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the Nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

"Whereas there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in war production solely by reason of their race, creed, color, or national origin, to the detriment of the prosecution of the war, the workers' morale, and national unity:

"Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes, and as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrim-

ination in the employment of any person in war industries or in Government by reason of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of all employers, including the several Federal departments and agencies, and all labor organizations, in furtherance of this policy and of this order, to eliminate discrimination in regard to hire, tenure, terms, or conditions of employment, or union membership because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

"It is hereby ordered as follows:

"1. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all contracts hereafter negotiated or renegotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin and requiring him to include a similar provision in all subcontracts.

"2. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for war production shall take all measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

"3. There is hereby established in the Office for Emergency Management of the Executive Office of the President a Committee on Fair Employment Practice, hereinafter referred to as the Committee, which shall consist of a Chairman and not more than six other members to be appointed by the President. The Chairman shall receive such salary as shall be fixed by the President not exceeding \$10,000 per year. The other members of the committee shall receive necessary traveling expenses and, unless their compensation is otherwise prescribed by the President, a per diem allowance not exceeding \$25 per day and subsistence expenses on such days as they are actually engaged in the performance of duties pursuant to this order.

"4. The Committee shall formulate policies to achieve the purposes of this order and shall make recommendations to the various Federal departments and agencies and to the President which it deems necessary and proper to make effective the provisions of this order. The Committee shall also recommend to the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission appropriate measures for bringing about the full utilization and training of manpower in and for war production without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

"5. The Committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination forbidden by this order. It may conduct hearings, make findings of fact, and take appropriate steps to obtain elimination of such discrimination.

"6. Upon the appointment of the Committee and the designation of its Chairman, the Fair Employment Practice Committee established by Executive Order No. 8802 of June 25, 1941, hereinafter referred to as the old Committee, shall cease to exist. All records and property of the old Committee and such unexpended balances of allocations or other funds available for its use as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine shall be transferred to the Committee. The Committee shall assume jurisdiction over all complaints and matters pending before the old Committee and shall conduct such investigations and hearings as may be necessary in the performance of its duties under this order.

"7. Within the limits of the funds which may be made available for that purpose, the Chairman shall appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel and make pro-

vision for such supplies, facilities, and services as may be necessary to carry out this order. The Committee may utilize the services and facilities of other Federal departments and agencies and such voluntary and uncompensated services as may from time to time be needed. The Committee may accept the services of State and local authorities and officials, and may perform the functions and duties and exercise the powers conferred upon it by this order through such officials and agencies and in such manner as it may determine.

"8. The Committee shall have the power to promulgate such rules and regulations as may be appropriate or necessary to carry out the provisions of this order.

"9. The provisions of any other pertinent Executive order inconsistent with this order are hereby superseded."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, May 27, 1943.

Mr. BAILEY. If the Senator will yield further to me, I will read from the amendment. It appears to me that the appropriation which is being requested is a most extraordinary one. The appropriation is not for a definite sum. The amendment states in part: "For all expenses necessary to enable the Committee on Fair Employment Practice to carry out any functions," and so forth. I do not think it is customary for the Senate to authorize a bureau of the Government to enter into contracts necessitating "all expenses necessary."

The expenditure could be \$10,000,000 or \$100,000,000. The appropriation provided in the amendment is a blanket appropriation.

I thank the Senator for allowing me to make my statement.

Mr. BILBO. I appreciate the Senator's observations. They are very timely and right to the point.

It would require \$25,000,000 to enforce this damnable measure if it should ever become law, and it would require an army as well.

I continue reading from the communications which I have received. Here is a letter from Atlanta:

DEAR SENATOR: I have read with interest an article on the front page of one of our Atlanta papers of yesterday regarding the proposed FEPC bill.

I would dislike very much to see this proposed bill become a law; we certainly do not need any such national legislation, in my opinion, and I trust you will continue your fight against it as other southern Senators and Representatives are doing.

With kindest regards, I am yours very truly.

Here is a letter from Hapeville, Ga.:

DEAR SENATOR: Just a line of hearty commendation on the stand you are taking on this most disgusting and damnable FEPC.

Regardless of the State any United States Senator represents, I think all real white men should let him know he appreciates his stand. I think I know the real reason behind this dastardly scheme and anything I can do or say in my feeble way I stand ready and willing at any time. Keep up the good fight, Senator, and I think from my State you will have backing.

Yours very truly.

Here is a letter which must be all right, because it is written on the stationery of the Young Men's Christian Association.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank God we have men like you in Washington.

I have read in the Atlanta Constitution of your letter to the three "reverends" who are advocating the passage of the damnable FEPC bill.

Senator, I am a discharged veteran of World War II, having served 29 months, 17 overseas. I can tell you that 95 percent of the white, gentile veterans will not tolerate the FEPC bill if passed. Also I can tell you that the petition sent you by the Negro and two Quisling ministers is certainly not representative of the people of Atlanta, nor Georgia. The servicemen who signed it are undoubtedly Negroes. Frankly, I do not believe that over 2 percent of the men in the service who live in the North would sign such a petition. I spent 3 months in Deshon General Hospital at Butler, Pa., and there was plenty of time and opportunity to discuss the race problems in America. It is hard to find a white gentile soldier who is willing to allow the Negro equality either socially, economically, or politically. The northern politicians are afraid to speak out and oppose the Negro demands. Are the southern politicians leaning toward this "gutless" course or are they going to continue to uphold the honor and political integrity of the South?

We southerners and veterans can count on you, Senator, and Congressman RANKIN, the two great statesmen from Mississippi, to fight to the last ditch for the preservation of the white race in America. It remains to be seen if we can depend upon the others.

Eventually the show-down will come. It may mean another call to arms. You know there will be millions of southerners ready and willing to answer that call.

Respectfully yours.

The writer of this letter states, "Frankly, I do not believe that over 2 percent of the men in the service who live in the North would sign such a petition." I believe he is correct. The question involved here is not a southern one. It is a national question. If an attempt is made to enforce the law after the first day of July that old expression, "Hell will break loose in Georgia," will be changed; it will break loose in New York.

Here is a post card from an old friend of mine at Atlanta, Ga.:

ATLANTA, Ga., June 22, 1945.

DEAR SENATOR BILBO: I continuously travel the United States and give my word from close examination that the birds behind all this social race equality stuff are Jews—from that rat Winchell to the most illiterate second-hand man. They all have the same line. And they are always nagging about it.

Also, the majority of Americans (white), both North and South, ask nothing more than to be let alone by these others who are trying to break into their social and/or economic life.

The American is not articulate because he is afraid of economic reprisals or worse. He usually has a family to think of. And the sly Jew ingratiates himself with the fool Christian minister.

Sincerely.

Mr. President, I am reminded of what happened in New York the other day. A manufacturer who had a contract with the Government, and who employed many women in his organization, received a notice from Washington of a cut-back which resulted in a discharge of between 75 and 100 of his women employees. He had employed Negro women, Jewish women, and gentile white women.

He proceeded to discharge the white Christian gentiles and keep the Negroes and the Jews on the job. When he was accosted with regard to what he had done he replied, "I do not want to get mixed up in the toils of the law by having to fight with the FEPC. The first Negro woman I let out I will be charged with letting her out because of her color. If I discharged a Jewish woman, I shall be charged with discharging her because she is a Jewess. I will not take any chances. I will discharge the white gentile Christians and keep the Jews and the Negroes."

Mr. President, that will take place all over the country because the average businessman does not want to become involved with the law. It is true that the present committee does not have any power to enforce pains or penalties. They cannot put anyone in jail. But the organization goes all over the country and finds the conditions about which they report. They threaten people and intimidate them. One of the penalties is to send the names to the President. The business people are led to believe that the word will be passed down to the War Production Board, and a process of what might properly be called sanctions, such as the denial of priorities, will be put into effect, and in that way the business interests of the country will be crucified. I want the American people to know that the present FEPC has not any authority.

By the way, we are indebted to Representative RANKIN, of Mississippi, who has given us a picture of the set-up we are talking about. Let us see who they are. This is authentic; it came from official records of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice here in the city of Washington. Who are they? This is the committee:

COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Office of the Chairman

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Ross, Malcolm	Chairman	White	\$8,000
Johnson, George M.	Deputy Chairman	Colored	8,000
Hubbard, Maceo	Hearings examiner	do	5,600
Bloch, Emanuel	do	White	5,600
Cooper, Evelyn	do	do	5,600
Berking, Max	Assistant to Chairman	do	3,800
Alexander, Dorothy	Secretary to Chairman	Colored	2,600
Clifton, J. Jeanne	Secretary to Deputy	do	2,000
Brooks, Mary	Clerk-stenographer	do	1,800
Banting, Myra	do	White	1,800

So, in the head office in Washington there are 10 people, 5 Negroes and 5 whites, most of whom have foreign names. It will be noticed that one of the white stenographers receives the smallest salary of anyone on the list. Remember that the members of this group preside over the destiny of every business enterprise in America and are using their assumed powers to harass white Americans, and put them out of business.

Now, let us look at the Field Operations Division in Washington:

Field operations

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Maslow, Will	Chief	White	\$6,500
Mitchell, Clarence	Principal fair-practice examiner	Colored	5,600
Davidson, Eugene	do	do	5,600
Beall, W. Hayes	Senior fair-practice examiner	White	4,600
Mercer, Inez	Fair-practice examiner	do	3,800
Rogers, Eleanor	Clerk-stenographer	Colored	1,800
Saito, Otome	do	Japanese-American	1,800
Thompson, Mildred	do	Colored	1,800
Cornick, Emma	do	do	1,620

So in the set-up in the Division of Field Operations, there are nine people, five Negroes, one Japanese-American, and three others, two of whom have records of affiliation with Communist-front organizations according to the reports of the Dies committee. That is the statement made by Mr. RANKIN in giving this list.

Now let us take a look at the Review and Analysis Division. It is made up as follows:

Review and Analysis Division

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Davis, John A.	Chief	Colored	\$5,600
Lawson, Marjorie	Research analyst	do	3,800
Golightly, Cornelius	Compliance analyst	do	3,200
Hemphill, India	do	do	2,600
Coan, Carol	do	White	2,600
Davis, Joy P.	do	Colored	2,600
Hoffman, Celia	Clerk-stenographer	White	1,800
Spaulding, Joan	do	Colored	1,800

It will be noted that office consists of six Negroes and two whites, one of whom is named Carol Coan, and the other Celia Hoffman, a white stenographer who receives the lowest salary on the list.

Now let us look at the Legal Division:

Legal Division

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Reeves, Frank D.	Attorney	Colored	\$4,600
Stickgold, Simon	do	White	4,600

If there is anything in names, I would be rather afraid of that fellow, Simon Stickgold.

Gordon, Jerneve, clerk-stenographer, colored, \$1,800.

It will be noted that the Legal Division consists of two Negroes and Simon Stickgold.

Information Division

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Bourne, St. Clair	Information specialist	Colored	\$3,800
Whiting, Margaret	Clerk-stenographer	do	1,800

In other words, the Information Division of the FEPC in Washington is made up of two people, and they are both Negroes. They furnish the information to the hungry, thirsting public.

Then we come to the Division of Budget and Administration. This is the Division that spends the money:

Budget and Administration

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Jones, Theodore	Chief	Colored	\$5,600
Jeter, Sinclair	Assistant administrative officer	do	3,200
Baker, Vivian D.	Clerk-stenographer	do	2,000
Jackson, Bosales A.	Clerk-typist	do	1,620
Paynter, Minnie A.	do	do	1,620
Hollomon, Irving	Clerk	do	1,440
Selby, Ralph R.	Chief, fiscal	do	2,600
Ross, Sylvia B.	Voucher auditor	do	2,000
Nelson, Otelia	Accounting clerk	do	1,620
Carpenter, Elizabeth	do	do	1,620
Brent, Pearl T.	do	do	1,620

That is the outfit, composed of 11 Negroes, which not only makes up the budget for financing this aggregation, but seems to have the power of administration. I hope all Senators will read this list to their white businessmen constituents at home when they return and ask for renomination and reelection. The whole caboodle in the Budget and Administration Divisions are colored.

I now come to the Mail and Files Division:

Mail and files

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Douglas, Lela	Chief, Mail and Files	Colored	\$2,000
Welch, Selena	Docket clerk	do	1,800
Gamble, Jessie	File clerk	do	1,620
Phillips, Rose	do	do	1,440
Reed, Charles	Messenger	do	1,380
Mitchell, Regina	File clerk	do	1,440

In that list there are six and they are all colored. We next come to the regional office, New York. This is where business is going to pick up shortly:

Regional office, New York

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Lawson, Edward H.	Regional director	Colored	\$5,600
Jones, Madison S.	Fair-practice examiner	do	3,800
Jones, Robert G.	do	do	3,800
Donovan, Daniel R.	do	White	3,800
Irish, Miriam	Clerk-stenographer	Colored	2,000
Asepha, Tillie	do	White	1,620
Schwartz, Sonia	do	do	1,620

That is the New York organization that is going to vie and compete with Governor Dewey's new set-up on the 1st day of July in the great State of New York.

I now come to the set-up in the regional office in Philadelphia:

Regional office, Philadelphia

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Fleming, G. James	Regional director	Colored	\$5,600
Greenblatt, Mildred	Fair-practice examiner	White	3,800
Manly, Milo A.	do	Colored	3,800
Fisk, Samuel R.	do	White	3,800
Grinnage, Willard	do	Colored	3,200
Gorgas, Helen	Clerk-stenographer	do	1,800
Klinger, Karyl	do	White	1,800
Brown, Grayce	do	Colored	1,440

It will be noted that the Philadelphia regional office is composed of eight individuals, five Negroes and three whites.

There will be some brotherly love when that crowd gets together on business in Philadelphia.

Regional office of Washington. Here is the regional office located in the Nation's Capital. That ought to be interesting to us Washingtonians, where there has been so much interference with gentiles in the last few years:

Regional office, Washington, D. C.

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Evans, Joseph.....	Regional director.	Colored.	\$5,600
Houston, Theophilus.....	Fair-practice examiner.	do.....	3,200
Kahn, Alice.....	do.....	White.	2,600
Chisolm, Ruby.....	Clerk-stenographer.	Colored.	1,800
Urback, Dorothy.....	do.....	do.....	1,620

Now the regional office at Cleveland, Ohio:

Regional office, Cleveland

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
McKnight, William.....	Regional director.	Colored.	\$4,600
Abbott Olcott R.....	Fair-practice examiner.	White.	3,800
Glore, Lethia.....	do.....	Colored.	3,200
Kelley, Berniza.....	Clerk-stenographer.	do.....	1,620
Wasem, Edna.....	do.....	White.	1,800

It will be noted that the Cleveland office is composed of three Negroes and two whites.

The Cincinnati regional office—this is interesting:

Cincinnati

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
James, Harold.....	Fair-practice examiner.	White.	\$4,600
.....	Clerk-stenographer.	1,800

The examiner has no stenographer. They could not find a Negro stenographer conveniently, so he is without a stenographer now, I think.

As to the regional office in Detroit, Mich., I find the following:

Detroit

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Swan, Edward.....	Examiner in charge.	Colored.	\$4,600
Sese, Doris K.....	Clerk-stenographer.	Japanese-American.	1,620

The record of the regional office in Chicago is interesting. These are the employees, and I quote from the speech:

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Henderson, Elmer.....	Regional director.	Colored.	\$5,600
Gibson, Harry H. C.....	Fair-practice examiner.	do.....	3,800
Schultz, Joy.....	do.....	White.	3,800
Williams, Le Roy.....	do.....	Colored.	3,200
Zeidman Penny.....	Clerk-stenographer.	White.	1,800
Ingram, Marguerite S.....	do.....	Colored.	1,620

You will note it is composed of five Negroes, two whites, Joy Schultz and Penny Zeidman. I am told that a representative of this group went into the office of Swift & Co. and asked how many Negro members they had on their board of directors. The answer was, "We have no negro members on our board of directors." Then the answer came back, "Why haven't you?" This just shows what this supergovernmental set-up is driving at. They want to communize America and destroy everything which our glorious ancestors have left us, and for which our boys are now fighting and dying all over the world.

REGIONAL OFFICE, ATLANTA

Here is a list of the Atlanta office:

Regional office, Atlanta

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Dodge, Witherspoon.....	Regional director.	White.	\$4,600
Hope, John.....	Fair-practice examiner.	Colored.	3,800
McKay, George D.....	do.....	White.	3,200
Chubb, Sally.....	Clerk-stenographer.	do.....	2,000
Ingram, Thelma.....	do.....	Colored.	1,800

You will note that it consists of two Negroes and three whites. I wonder how the people of Georgia enjoy the domination of this group.

In the regional office in Kansas City there are Roy A. Hogland, white, \$5,600; Eugene Ormabee, white, \$3,800; Mildred Jones, colored, \$1,620; and Helene G. Schliene, white, \$1,620.

St. Louis

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Theodore Brown.....	Examiner in charge.	Colored.	\$3,800
Morris Levine.....	Examiner.	White.	3,200
Armatha Jackson.....	Clerk-stenographer.	Colored.	1,620

You will note that it consists of two Negroes and one white. Just how they came to select these particular individuals to preside over the destiny of the white businessmen of the great State of Missouri I cannot understand.

REGIONAL OFFICE, DALLAS, TEX.

The members of the regional office at Dallas are as follows:

Regional office, Dallas

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Castenada, Carlos.....	Regional director.	White.	\$4,600
(Vacancy).....	Fair-practice examiner.	3,200
Gutleben, Willetta.....	Clerk-stenographer.	White.	1,800

You will note there is one vacancy. Last year that position was held by a Negro, namely, Roy V. Williams. The other two members, Carlos Castenada, the regional director, and Willetta Gutleben, seems to be in charge of the office at the present time. This is the regional office that attacked the Dallas News last year for carrying an advertisement for a Negro janitor. This fellow Castenada, director, held the same position he holds now. If this set-up is made permanent, then I presume the rest of the white American businessmen in Texas may

expect to be harassed just as the Dallas News was.

REGIONAL OFFICE, NEW ORLEANS

The regional office at New Orleans consists of the following members:

Regional office, New Orleans

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Ellinger, W. Don.....	Regional director.	White.	\$3,800
Morton, James H.....	Fair-practice examiner.	Colored.	3,200
Ronning, Evelyn.....	Clerk-stenographer.	White.	1,800

You will note that there are two whites and one Negro in this office. As the Negro is the Fair Practice examiner, just what the decent white people of Louisiana may expect at the hands of this outfit is something to contemplate.

REGIONAL OFFICE, SAN FRANCISCO

The San Francisco office consists of the following individuals:

Regional office, San Francisco

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Kingman, Harry L.....	Regional director.	White.	\$5,600
Rutledge, Edward.....	Fair-practice examiner.	do.....	4,600
Ross, Bernard.....	do.....	do.....	3,800
Seymour, Virginia.....	Administrative assistant.	do.....	2,000
Mazen, Jewel.....	Clerk-stenographer.	do.....	1,800

This is the only office we have found yet that consists entirely of white people. Just what the background of each one of them is I am unable to say.

LOS ANGELES REGIONAL OFFICE

The Los Angeles regional office consists of the following:

Los Angeles

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Hunt, A. Bruce.....	Hearings examiner.	White.	\$5,600
Brown, Robert E.....	Fair-practice examiner.	Colored.	3,600
Lopez, Ignacio.....	do.....	White.	3,800
Vetter, Vera G.....	Clerk-stenographer.	do.....	1,800
Lerna, Marie.....	do.....	do.....	1,620

Mr. President, from the tabulation of this set-up we find that there are 115 employees in this organization, covering the whole Nation, and of that number 66 are Negroes. There are two American-Japanese, about 12 or 15 Jewish people, and the rest are gentiles.

In the United States there are 12,800,000 Negroes out of a population of 138,000,000. There are approximately, in round numbers, 5,000,000 Jewish people out of a population of 138,000,000. Here is an organization set up to see that there is no discrimination of any sort or kind anywhere in the United States, and we find this man, Malcolm Ross, when he gathers his brood together, notwithstanding the fact that there are 10 white people to every Negro in the United States and 20 gentiles to every Jew in the United States, placing 66 Negroes, about 12 or 15 Jews, and even going over and getting a couple of Japs. That is

the organization to which we are asked to give \$446,000, to pursue its activities throughout this country.

They say they have no power—and here is the testimony of Ross—except to conciliate, and to report in extreme cases to the President, and then by the process of sanctions they propose to punish those who will not observe their good wishes in hiring and firing their employees.

They are conciliators. In other words, they are the "sugar boys" of the New Deal. They are the "lollypop" boys going around pacifying everybody who is dissatisfied because he could not get a job. Do Senators propose that we spend \$446,000 of the people's money for 66 Negroes, 12 Jews, a few gentiles, and two Japs, just to be "lollypops" for this country, "sugar boys" going around pacifying? They admit that.

Are they doing any good? No; they are not doing any good. Of course, when brother Ross and his aides come before the committee they paint a wonderful picture of the service they render, but as a matter of fact, they have created more friction, they have brought about more dissatisfaction in this country, than the good they have done, and there is no excuse for the organization.

Moreover, it is not right for the Congress to pass a Federal law covering all the 48 States when some of the States have seen fit to pass laws of their own making, because we cannot have a conflict of jurisdiction. Certainly we do not want that.

I think the thing for us to do is to proceed at once to liquidate and close out this organization, to take an inventory and get rid of this FEPC as a part of the Federal set-up, an agency of the Government, and let the States which want and think they need this kind of legislation pass their own State laws. It is a State matter. Most certainly we could not afford to impose this kind of law on the State of New Jersey or the State of New York, which pass their own laws. That would result in a serious situation. I do not see what those engaged in business would do.

People should get it out of their systems that this is a matter of southern opposition to the bill. The business people of this Nation from Maine to San Francisco, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, are opposed to the proposed Federal legislation. They do not want it. They see the harm it would bring about, and we in the South know what would happen. It would mean no end of trouble and no end of friction.

I am a friend of the Negro, but instead of this being the way to help the poor Negro, those who are sponsoring this proposal are fixing to do him more harm than good. The sensible Negroes of this Nation do not want this kind of legislation, because they know what the result would be.

Let me read another letter from Georgia:

I have just read your reply to the Atlanta group who foolishly wrote you in the interest of the FEPC and you turned them up just right.

I am completing a book that I hope to have published. Is the Negro the South's Problem? and I am anxious for all the information that I can get on FEPC.

Would it be asking too much if I request an exposition of you of the facts and possibilities of this bill—what it could lead to?

All I have to do, Mr. President, is to wait until this fight is over, and send him a copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, which will answer his letter and I think will satisfy him. Before we get through I believe we shall have developed all the facts in the case.

Here is a post card from Atlanta, from a good, old white gentleman who writes:

Please pardon card, but I have nothing else today, and wish to hasten to tell you how we all rejoice at your declaration in the Senate yesterday. That is the opinion of the better classes, but we, alas, are in the hopeless minority—so much so, that there will be trouble here soon. The Negro has been spoliied by Eleanor clubs, and we are suffering from the taint. The names you mentioned are Reds, Jews, and fanatics.

Your utterance is hailed with thanksgiving, for Atlantans seem to be asleep, at least many of them. We are in hands of huckstering politicians, and never was there such crimes among delinquents as now. Manners and morals have reached their 7th degree and anything you say may begin a crusade for the rights of people.

We are all listening to you. Go ahead. Wishing you every success in your missionary work and with heartfelt gratitude.

That is what I am trying to do, Mr. President. I am trying to perform missionary work today. I am trying to persuade my colleagues not to push this appropriation at this time.

I read from another letter from Atlanta, Ga.:

Let me be one person from Atlanta to congratulate you on your stand to "leave nothing undone this side of heaven or hell to defeat this damnable legislative scheme," referring, of course, to the legislation to create a permanent FEPC. We southerners must stand together for States' rights and against further usurpation of power, constitutionally delegated to the individual States, by the Federal Government. The Negro problem is our own and we know how to handle it. Enough has already been said and done in recent years to build up class hatred between the whites and blacks without having this vicious act forced upon us.

May you and our other representatives of the South stand firmly together in defeating the passage of a permanent FEPC.

For your information I might add that I am a southern Democrat.

Here is another letter from Atlanta, Ga.:

The 800 who signed a petition urging Congress to create a permanent Fair Employment Practice Act do not represent the masses of four or more millions of Georgians. I am insisting on your continuing your fight against this proposed pernicious legislation.

The "800" do not represent the rank and file of Georgia; they do not even represent the businessmen of this State; they do not represent the rank and file of the various posts of the American Legion of this State; nor the Disabled War Veterans, nor any other patriotic organization. These men should talk to the "man of the streets" if they wish to learn the truth.

Even date, one of my neighbors and a personal friend and a businessman, became so mad when we talked about the "800" and what they were stirring up that he declared he did not wish to discuss it as the subject makes him become "too hot in the collar."

I'll tell you what they are doing—they are breeding great trouble between the whites and blacks in the South; we know the Negro and are his friends, but we shall not bow down to the unrest that such as these "800" are brewing. If they haven't enough judgment to let well enough alone, there are multi-thousands right here in Fulton who have kept this a white man's country, and we intend to keep it thus.

Today we are having much trouble with Negroes as servants; they demand much more than they are worth; they are trifling, untrustworthy, undependable; lay off their jobs; expect one to carry them to and from their homes in cars; are dishonest, wasteful, immoral, and all this fuss by such as the "800" and others of their ilk in this county is engendering trouble between the races.

Ralph Magill of the Atlanta Constitution is eternally harping on this subject. That "race creed", etc., stuff that he publishes assists greatly in creating false ideas in the heads of the "niggers" and will result in more trouble in the South than anything since the days of reconstruction if the propaganda is not curbed.

Newspapers and magazines do not voice the opinion of the masses—not today. We are not living in days when we had a Henry Grady, Henry Watterson, a Horace Greely, a Charles Dana, a Charles Pendleton, a Tom Loyless, a Colonel Estill; these men were leaders and the people followed, but the people do not follow the press any more.

Keep up the fight.

Sincerely yours.

That letter was not written to me but was sent to me. It was written to the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell], and I have read it for the information of the Senate.

I read another letter from Georgia:

We Georgia "crackers," common folks, are backing you with all our might in the great fight you and your colleagues in the House and Senate are making to save the whites of the United States from annihilation, degradation, and Negro rule.

I am taking the liberty of sending you a little booklet which I hurriedly wrote, if you have time to read it, just to see how some of us feel, and see that some of us are helping to stay the knife thrust. I have gratuitously sent these booklets all over Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and hundreds to the Negro organizations in New York, Pennsylvania, and Chicago. Our common folks can understand what I have written, and I have received approval, and many comments from all southern people. Some favorable comments from prominent people North. I am preparing another booklet which is more interesting and pointed, and containing much more criticism than this one.

This FEPC bill seems to be the great political pie for the Negro. If it ever becomes a law the southern white man may as well admit his defeat and acknowledge the Negro and the Communists and Jews as the masters of destiny of America.

The southern daily papers have been strangely silent during the progress of this controversy over this measure, while northern advocates have turned heaven and earth to secure its passage.

All Negro organizations and religious fanatics have appeared before committee hearings advocating its passage. Now, to my surprise, southern (Georgia men) white men, and Negroes are actively engaged in advocating its passage. Even while they know and realize its dire effect on future generations of America.

I will put my shoulder to the wheel and do what I can to help save America although I am 80 years old I still have some life and Confederate white blood left to shed for our ancestors.

I am starting a petition against its passage, and am writing an article for publication asking every town and city in Georgia to prepare petitions against the measure so that they may be sent to you or other Senators opposing it.

My booklet is no biological study, it's a plain statement written so the common citizen can understand what I have written.

I am with high regards.

The letter is signed "Jno. R. Irwin." He is 80 years old.

I have another letter from Oxford, Ga., as follows:

I notice in the press that some people are criticising your stand on FEPC. I am not competent to judge this bill; however, I am inclined to think you are right.

My object in writing this note to you is to express my appreciation to you for your support of President Roosevelt's war measures. It is my impression that you supported most, if not all, of them. Your service to the Nation and the world in taking this stand far outweighs the effect of all the mistakes you have ever made—I assume that you have made many because you are a human being.

I want the Senator from New Mexico to notice the full content of this letter before he makes his note.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Will the Senator give me the name of the writer?

Mr. BILBO. I am not permitted to give the name. The letter is from Oxford, Ga. The writer appreciates the fact that I was a supporter of President Roosevelt's measures; and I have been. But I have just finished assuring the Senate that the FEPC was the result of intimidation by 200,000 Negroes who expected to march on Washington. By the way, the other day the Negroes said in a statement that they were getting ready to do so again, because they have learned the advantage and the virtue of force, and they want to march on Washington. I should like to be appointed as a member of the reception committee when they come.

I wish to read another letter from Georgia:

AUGUSTA, GA., June 22, 1945.

Senator THEODORE BILBO,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I wish to express to you my personal thanks the way you voted upon that special bill that was trying to get by in the Senate—FEPC—a few days past. I am sure with such men as you from the deep South, no such bill will ever pass. Someone started the poll-tax bill and see what happened to that, though I do trust and pray that there will always be enough real southern gentlemen in office to take care of what we of the real South have always been use to. I wish to thank you, and add that I do believe this is my first letter I have ever wrote to a Senator or Congressman thanking them for fighting for or against a bill. I feel like you really need a pat on the back more than a letter.

I am enclosing one of my old cards you can destroy it or send back if you wish. Its only to show you my standing. I am quite sure none of the ones who signed that petition ever have had the real pleasure of being a member in such.

Best of luck to you always.

I am, most sincerely,

P. S.—I am an executive committeeman, white, democratic, Richmond County, primary committeeman, Augusta, Ga.

Here is another letter from Atlanta, Ga.:

ATLANTA, GA., June 22, 1945.

The Honorable THEODORE BILBO,

United States Senator from Mississippi,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Unfortunately your indictment of the people of Atlanta is true, as it applies to a certain percentage of them. Atlanta's population consists of 45 percent Negroes, 25 percent white carpetbaggers, Jews, etc., and 30 percent of southern white people from Georgia and many Southern States. The 30-percent minority has to bear the blame for the acts of the others.

Please allow me to say that you have the admiration and complete support of this 30 percent in your efforts to defeat this infamous FEPC bill, and we sincerely hope you will stick with your program so well expressed in the last paragraph of your article attached. We do not believe that the sentiment of this 70-percent mixture in Atlanta is representative of Georgia.

Please try to defeat this FEPC bill by every means in your power.

Sincerely yours.

Here is still another letter from Atlanta, Ga.:

I have been reading with a great deal of interest and satisfaction your statements about the FEPC. Especially was I delighted with the swing you took at the Atlanta petition gotten up by black and white preachers here in Atlanta and signed by niggers and our lowest white trash. I do not wonder sometimes at our citizenry turning away from Christianity, as preached by some of our lazy, too-no-account-to-work ginks calling themselves preachers.

He must be referring to Gerald K. Smith. He continues:

We here in Georgia are being fed a lot of bloocey by the two biggest newspapers in the State. They have them a hand-picked Governor, and they are lining up the Negro voters in order to reelect him. As you will notice from enclosed clipping, I am also enclosing a clipping involving a big shot Army Negro (no relation of mine, I assure you).

If these FEPC troublemakers were having our country's best interest at heart in times like these they would be lending their feeble-minded efforts toward ending a war instead of laying the foundations for one here at home. My observance is that the educated nigger breeds trouble. The ignorant ones are the only ones to be trusted, so I say, keep them ignorant.

More power to you, Senator Bilbo, is my heartfelt wish. I do wish I could vote for you for anything. Your stand in this FEPC marks you as a southern gentleman, statesman, and hero. I read the Pittsburgh and Detroit Negro dailies, and get the greatest kick in the world out of their antics against you and Honorable Talmadge. I'm so sorry Truman has picked up the F. D. R. cross of such good will toward the black race, but can't be helped.

Again I say, more power to you, and the best wishes in the world toward and to ye. Fight on and on and on. Southern "yes" newspapers, along with the nigger press will try to crucify you, but stick in there with them is my 3 cents worth of advice and encouragement.

Yours truly.

Here is another letter from Georgia:

Senator THEODORE G. BILBO,

Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I was very much interested in your remarks before the Senate, contained in the June 20 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. As a native Georgian, I want you to

know that the petition received does not represent the feelings of the real Georgians and with the exception of one or two names the rest is of unknown denomination, probably sidewalk nobodies. You will recall when the iniquitous poll-tax legislation was in discussion a year or so ago, I wrote you my feelings in the matter and expressed my appreciation of our attitude at that time. I wish to repeat this and tell you that we real Georgians are proud of the position you have taken in regard to the so-called FEPC legislation. Will you kindly accept my sincere congratulations on your attitude in the matter. With expression of my highest personal esteem, believe me, I am.

Here is another letter from Georgia:

Honorable Senator BILBO,

United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR BILBO: Have just finished reading your article in the Atlanta Journal in regard to the FEPC. We are grateful to you on your stand in the matter. When I refer to "we," I have the authority to speak for 30,000 tax-paying voters who have, and now are, working under me in construction engineering. These men are from various States. Atlanta does have a few off-brands of American citizens, but they are like M. Ashby Jones, a cheap minister from the Gospel. Reds, Blacks, and Greens are a credit to such people. Now, this statement is no secret. Ashby Jones well knows that I am able and glad to back up my statement. I am sorry that we have people who will advocate revolution, riots, and bloodshed. They should be chased out of a peace-loving nation. Mr. Jones says he wants the FEPC because the late President Roosevelt asked for it and that President Truman wants it. They are just human and are subject to mistakes, and have made plenty.

Though we believe we have enough American blood in the Senate and Congress to halt and correct such mistakes, any Senator or House Member who supports such un-American act we are prepared to campaign for his defeat in his own State when he is up for reelection.

Any time we may be of value, please feel free to call on me.

Yours truly.

Here is a very interesting letter from the city of Washington:

JUNE 25, 1945.

Senator THEODORE BILBO,

Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR BILBO: The great silent majority of the people, both North and South, do not wish Mrs. NORTON and the National Association for the Advancement of the Negro Race to force them to work beside a Negro. An overwhelming silent majority of industry resent the National Association for the Advancement of the Negro Race attempting to force them to hire Negroes.

This antiwhite scheme for getting black votes is dishonest even in its name. It is not fair employment practice when it is forced employment practice and those of us who have served our country in two wars against German nazism will continue to serve by fighting against this white-hating minority of Negro nazism. Forced employment in a free democracy must go.

Very truly yours.

In other words, if a man is forced to employ someone he does not want or need or cannot use, it is idle to talk about this being a free country. When the time comes when the Government undertakes to run a man's private business by telling him that he has to hire this man or that man and this woman

or that woman and put them in his office or in his place of business, to work with people he has willingly employed, and put such persons there against the will of the other employees and against their protests and against their wishes, there will be no freedom left. You need not talk to me about the great democracy and freedom of America and the American way of life when you try to cram this kind of legislation down the throats of the American people.

Here is a letter from New York:

Senator THEODORE G. BILBO,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I'm just a southern boy on what will probably be a short business visit in the north—to New York City. Due to overcrowded conditions I have been living on the westside where New York has made such an "ideal" solution to the race problem.

Of course, that is irony. I read further:

My purpose in writing is to commend your stand on the race issue and to urge that you continue to insist on the South solving the problem as a southern problem and not as some northern social workers think the South should solve its problems.

The situation here is far from ideal. I saw a white man pushed around and beaten by several Negro bus riders recently—and no person dared come to his defense. Harlem—glamorous Harlem—is so lawless that my guide on a drive through it one Sunday said, "Be careful how you drive, there's many cases where a white man has had his car completely wrecked by Negro gangs here after being involved in a small accident." The crowded condition would suggest some friction, but my observation has been that the Negroes always consider the words "liberty," "rights," and "license" as synonyms.

The operation of the antidiscrimination law is that many apartment building owners hesitate to put out signs announcing vacancies because they cannot refuse to rent to Negroes, even in the best sections if a Negro can pay the rent.

So, please insist on the South's rights to solve its own problems—a situation in the South like that in New York City would be intolerable with our large concentrations of Negroes. Do not disclose my name to anyone, please. One should not be in New York unless he can see the situation here is ideal as regards the race question.

Yours very truly,

Here is a letter from Georgia:

It is a pity we haven't a few more Americans like yourself. I want to congratulate you on your letter to that May.

That is the Georgia petition.
I read further from the letter:

The X are trying to get control of our country, and I can't understand how loyal Americans can let them pull the wool over their eyes as they are trying to do with their dollars. God help the South if the men in politics don't get this mess we are in straightened out soon. There's going to be bloodshed, and plenty of it, right in this county, which I have always loved.

I wish Senator Maybank would join with you in this fight for the right to keep our self-respect.

You know who is back of all this. They are not even putting their money in war bonds, now that Germany has folded up. They have other unfinished business in this country now. Thousands of Americans think as I do, but dare not express themselves. That FEPC is an insult to an American. Why should we turn our country over to—and actually the people are afraid to come out as you did and say a word.

Mr. President, it is useless to talk to me about a free country if this kind of legislation is to be passed. If I have a store and have 6 people working for me, and if my store is located in a white community, where I have a select trade, if I have a vacancy and 1 of the 66 Negroes of the Malcolm Ross outfit comes to my office and asks, "Have you a vacancy in your store?" and I reply "Yes," and then I am asked, "Do you have any Negroes clerking for you?" and I reply "No," and then I am told, "Well, I have a Negro girl, or a Negro boy, I want you to hire. You must hire him. If you do not hire him, I will report you and I will punish you." As the operator of that store, I know that my clientele do not want to patronize a store which uses Negro clerks. They will not buy goods from a Negro clerk. Yet I will be forced to employ someone who will destroy my business.

Mr. President, in the city of Washington arrangements have been made with Gallinger Hospital to have doctors from George Washington University Hospital and other institutions in this city go there and treat patients. They do a great deal of work at Gallinger Hospital, and they are not being paid anything for it. Some of the best medical talent in the city is doing that kind of work. Do you know, Mr. President, that the crazy FEPC bunch demands that the doors of Gallinger Hospital be thrown wide open to Negro doctors, and that Negro doctors be allowed to engage in that practice? Georgetown University Hospital and other institutions in this city have given notice that if that is done their doctors will not continue with the work; and the patients at Gallinger Hospital, both whites and Negroes, say they do not want to have Negro doctors there. But that is the kind of thing the FEPC is doing, and that is the way it is sticking its nose into other people's business.

And then, Mr. President, we have the bill which the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. NORTON] has introduced in the House. God knows what we can do with that.

Here is another letter from Georgia:

JUNE 24, 1945.

HON. THEODORE G. BILBO,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I admire the stand you are putting up to defeat the uncalled for and I might say the very dangerous FEPC bill or act and just can't refrain from writing you and letting you know that there are thousands of Georgians who share the same belief.

The people everywhere to whom I have talked are against this infamous act and it should not have been instituted in the first place and I now pledge that I will do all I can against it and have already contacted my Senators and Representatives in Georgia to do all to delay action and kill it forever.

This means the renewing of the race question in my opinion and will only lead to trouble if allowed to be written on the statute books of the United States of America.

I join you and other fellow Americans in the fight and I don't believe you will let this act be put on the records of our great American government. May you be successful and, may our great God of all not let this become a law. Yours for a better USA.
Your admirer and friend.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TUNNELL in the chair). Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. BILBO. I do not yield yet; I will let the Senator loose after a while.

Here is another letter from Georgia:

JUNE 24, 1945.

HON. THEODORE BILBO,
United States Senator from Mississippi,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I read an Associated Press article in the June 22 issue of the Atlanta Constitution. It mentions Atlanta is a center of "offbrands of American citizenship." You are more than right. There are more scalawags in Atlanta today than there was in the entire South from 1865 to 1875, by a ratio of approximately 10 to 1. It would be difficult to determine the number of Rosenwalders, Communists, CIO-gangsters, scalawags, et al., who infest this city.

That is the crowd Mrs. Roosevelt was bragging about in My Day.

I have been here since 1907, and still camping out, and have never called the place home. It is because I am from Augusta, Ga., and it will always be home to me. We have some southern people there like you have in heavenly Mississippi.

The Atlanta newspapers have become nothing much more than propaganda sheets. The Atlanta Constitution is in the good graces of the Rosenwald fund outfit, and the Atlanta Journal that died when Jack Cohen died is influenced by the "rotten dealers" who call themselves "New Dealers", also the CIO, et al.

I should have mentioned we have plenty of "liberals" or so-called progressives, who are nothing short of being weak-kneed Communists who have not the courage to say they are Communists.

To sum it all up they have practically one and the same object, that is to bring about social recognition of the "nigger", and if that came about it would be natural for miscegenation to follow, and we would then become "brown America", which in the final analysis would be against all laws of God and decency—a Nation in complete decay. What we need, a million more like Senator Bilbo, and may God help you to win this fight against the Unfair Employment Practice Committee bill. More power to you and God bless you for all time.

Yours very truly,

I hope the prayer will be answered.

Mr. President, here is another letter from Georgia:

DEAR SENATOR: I wish to thank you for blasting the little group of renegade whites and "niggers" (FEPC) up in Atlanta. Being an outsider you just don't know how strong the vicious Yankee influences are in that town. Both the papers published there read like they were owned by "niggers."

But, Senator, why is it we can't find a man in the American Congress who has the moral courage, or as it is called out in the corn fields, "guts," to stand up and put a finger on the chief apostles of this proposed degradation? Everybody knows that F. D. R. was the daddy of this villainy. Truman being nothing at heart but a plain stooge is the foster parent of this treachery. Is it because Truman is a Democrat that you will not speak out? Or that F. D. R. was one? Well, if Franklin Roosevelt was a Democrat then I am a "nigger" washwoman. I hope later on you will have the courage to speak out and call a spade a spade. If we have any hope of preserving the white race as it is today it lies in Eugene Talmadge, Senator Lee O'Daniel, and men like yourself. If such men shirk

their duty we might as well give up. If we could get our southern leaders to put Truman and the Roosevelts in their place we would not have so much trouble with the little scum like that up in Atlanta.

With many good wishes for your continued success in Washington, I am,
Very sincerely yours.

The writer of that letter speaks his mind. He has his preferences. I do not agree with him in what he has said about President Truman.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. The Senator is on the wrong side of the Chamber.

Mr. TOBEY. I am willing to be for a moment. Will the Senator yield to me for a question?

Mr. BILBO. Yes.

Mr. TOBEY. Does the speech of the Senator from Mississippi constitute what we call a filibuster?

Mr. BILBO. Oh, no. As yet, I do not have anything to filibuster about.

Mr. TOBEY. Very well.

Mr. BILBO. A filibuster may not take place until after a motion has been made to suspend the rule. I am now merely talking. [Laughter.]

Here is a letter from a soldier boy:

DEAR SENATOR BILBO: Although not a constituent of your State, I want to thank you for your proposed opposition to the FEPC.

The FEPC is definitely a waste of the people's money as far as I'm concerned. Furthermore, I can see nothing practical in such an idea. It is certainly not democracy when some "peckerwood" with a brief case of red tape under each arm can go into a man's business and tell him how many of this race and that race he must hire.

Give them "extended explanation" from now on if necessary.

Respectfully yours.

The writer of the letter does not say "filibuster"; he says "extended explanation."

Mr. President, I will now read what a certain prominent Negro educator has to say with regard to this matter. He is Floyd Brown, president, Fargo Agricultural School, Fargo, Ark.; and I read from a letter which he wrote to the Arkansas Democrat at Little Rock. His letter is as follows:

As so much is being said within and without about the race problem in the South, and as I was born and reared in the South, and being a colored man, I feel justified in expressing my views about the race problem as I see it.

In my travels in Arkansas and the South, I am convinced that the race problem is not so acute as many would have it.

Mr. President, the problem may not be very acute at the present time, but it will become so if there shall be enacted the damn-fool legislation which is now being proposed.

I continue reading from the letter:

I am opposed to anyone, colored or white, of North or South, at all times exposing the bad side of and neglecting to say anything about the brighter side of race relationship. I do not believe the welfare of the two races should be left in the hands of the radicals.

After all is said and done, until the southern white people and the southern Negro people seek to adjust their misunderstandings and solve their own problems, our relationship will not be what it should be. I do not believe people living two or three thousand miles away are in a position to solve local problems as we ourselves are.

Mr. President, this is a Negro professor, an educated leader of the South, who is speaking. Let me read again what he has said:

I do not believe people living two or three thousand miles away are in a position to solve local problems as we ourselves are.

Yet, Mr. President, we find Members of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives, who are a thousand miles removed from where the whites and blacks are forced to live together. The Members of Congress to whom I have referred do not have to cope with the race problem in their own States, counties, or communities. However, they try to tell us in the South what we must do and what we must not do. It would seem that we do not know anything on earth about the problems with which we are confronted.

I continue reading from the letter:

Whether we believe, or whether we like it, statistics will prove that the colored people of the South own more property, operate more business, own more farms, and have built more institutions than those of any section of the United States.

Let us all say more about the better and more substantial contributions that both of us have contributed to our beloved South and it will do much to help solve our race problem.

As I have already said, that letter is from Floyd Brown, president, Fargo Agricultural School, Fargo, Ark., and was written to the Arkansas Democrat at Little Rock. Floyd Brown is a very sensible and splendid Negro leader.

Here is an encouraging piece of news from the Washington Post of June 26, 1945:

The fight over continuing the Fair Employment Practice Committee hit new intensity yesterday with the agency's head saying it may continue operating on a volunteer basis even if Congress gives it no money.

Mr. President, think of the audacity of Malcolm Ross, with his employees numbering approximately 115—66 Negroes, 12 Jews, and 2 Japs, as well as a few gentiles—saying that he does not give a rap whether we make an appropriation for him or not, but that he will continue to operate regardless. In other words, he is deriving so much kick, so much pleasure, and so much satisfaction out of his work that he is willing to continue with his program of harassing the American businessman, and is willing to remain on the job and function for nothing. If he feels that way about it, we should let him do his work for nothing.

I continue reading from the newspaper article:

Chairman Malcolm Ross said the FEPC may go ahead regardless, and another member, a Negro, reported plans for a demonstration "more dramatic than a march on Washington."

Logan has said in his book that the Negro has learned the technique of force. It was that force behind the suggestion that 200,000 Negroes would march into Washington that led the President to sign the Executive order which brought the FEPC into existence.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. Does the Senator see anything wrong in the march of the soldiers a few years ago into Washington when they wanted a bonus, and they were starving and needed help?

Mr. BILBO. That was quite different.

Mr. LANGER. I should like to have the Senator state the difference.

Mr. BILBO. Well, Mr. President, it would not do the Senator any good if I were to show him the difference. If a man who has been to Columbia University, as the Senator has been, cannot differentiate and evaluate the difference between a group of minority Negroes marching out of New York under the leadership of men like A. Philip Randolph and others, and the American soldier marching to Washington after he had helped fight for his flag, and asking for a bonus and other privileges, the Senator will be unable to see the difference, and I would waste my time in trying to educate him. [Laughter.]

I continue reading from the article:

This member, Milton P. Webster, international president of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, told a news conference he couldn't disclose the nature of the demonstration now, but "we are not going to take it lying down."

In other words, they are bluffing; they are trying to intimidate; they are trying to bulldoze, as they did the President to get the damned thing signed. That is what they are trying to do. "Oh, we are going to do something; we are going to do something awful. It is going to be more awful than 200,000 Negroes marching down on Washington from New York and Philadelphia at one time. I think it is about time we were having a demonstration."

I had two or three of them in my office yesterday morning. They said they wanted to talk to me about a filibuster; that I had no right to filibuster, that it was not the thing to do. They said they wanted to talk to me about it. They talked to my secretary. They told him, "If we do not get to see the Senator, and if we cannot stop him, he will be stopped by an act of God." Trying to threaten me or bluff me with the righteous indignation of God. That is all right; I am willing to take my medicine so long as God wants to punish me for filibustering, but I do not want some peckerwood who has nothing to do with God messing around with it.

He referred to slow action on legislation for a permanent FEPC. The House Appropriation Committee approved yesterday a \$125,000 fund earmarked for liquidation of the agency in the 3 months after July 1.

Senators understand what happened. It went to the Rules Committee, and was not given a rule, in other words the House committee was willing to put up \$125,000 to liquidate this piece of communistic conception and foolishness, but the Rules Committee was not willing to spend 5 cents on it, and it is not worth that much.

Southerners in Congress, meanwhile, girded for a filibuster to talk to death any attempt to give FEPC a congressional appropriation.

Further on the article recites:

Boris Shishkin, FEPC member and AFL economist, said the Army has discovered

widespread use by the Japanese of racial prejudices in this country in an attempt to persuade Asiatic peoples that this is a white man's war.

Ross said regardless of whether Congress votes FEPC any money the Committee will hold its regular meeting July 7 and decide then on its future. He said that the Committee, without funds, could not operate generally in industry but could continue to insist on nondiscrimination by government and contractors doing business with the Government.

Webster said the move to abolish FEPC leaves Negroes feeling "like we're being double-crossed—that this thing called democracy doesn't mean us at all."

"There probably will be the greatest upsurge of Negro opinion in history if the Committee (FEPC) is knocked down," he declared.

Bulldozing again, intimidating, threatening that, if this or that is not done as they want it done, they are going to do so and so, and so and so.

In New York, Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Democrat, New York, accused the House of "double dealing" in refusing to pass legislation providing for FEPC.

"I charge that there has been double dealing on both sides of the aisle as regards FEPC," he said in an address prepared for the annual Negro Freedom Rally in Madison Square Garden.

"I further charge that if the Republican Party had supported the FEPC the same as it supported the abolition of the poll tax, legislation today would be enacted on the FEPC."

In other words, the Negroes, as represented by their spokesmen, their leaders, are not satisfied with either the Democrats or the Republicans. We cannot do enough to satisfy them, and we do not know today what they will do tomorrow. The politicians who are expecting to control the Negro vote can just put it in their pipes and smoke it that if they do control it they are going to give the Negroes their houses and homes because they want more and more and more, and then more.

I just received through the mail yesterday a very interesting little booklet on the relationship of the Negroes and the whites. I think that question is certainly pertinent and germane in the discussion of this proposed legislation, because behind the whole scheme is the dream of the colored intelligentsia to break down what is known as the color line which exists both in the North and in the South, in the East and in the West, and force an intimacy and an association between the two races in business. In other words, if they can force a colored girl into a white man's office to be his secretary, they are making progress. If they can force a Negro into a machine shop where white women are working and put him in between two white women working on a machine or at a desk, they are making progress. That is what they call progress. The underlying scheme of the FEPC is to compel men and women of this country who have some regard for racial integrity, who believe in segregation, and who do not believe in social equality, to accept Negroes and put them in together with the whites and let them work side by side whether one likes their odor or not, to get them on the job and work together. Breaking down the line is what is behind it;

and if, through this instrumentality, they can force association and force connection then they are making progress. Old Dr. DuBois says in the book that he has just printed, "we have got to have the association, we have got to have the contact, we have got to bring them together," and he says the Charter at San Francisco is a failure, it is not going to get anywhere, because it does not declare in favor of the participation of the colonials of Great Britain, Russia, France, and the United States, and it is not going to take care of the cases of discrimination within the territorial limits of the smaller countries of the United Nations. That is why he says that the third world war is in the offing, and will come in a very short while, and the effort at world peace is going to be a failure, because it is not going to satisfy the colored people of America, and so war is coming. He not only prophesies it, but he wants it. One who reads his book will find that to be so. He may have been at San Francisco trying to help write the Charter of peace and democracy, because it is an inherent instinct in the average Negro in this country to want to put his bill into everything; he wants to go everywhere.

I had an experience with the Negroes of Washington as chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia. They called on me. I said, "Stop your fooling around, put your cards on the table. What do you want? How far do you want to go?" They spilled the beans. They said, "We want to use your hotels, we want to use your barber shops, we want to use your restaurants, your cafes, your swimming pools, your schools. We want complete mixing, social equality." And nothing short of that will satisfy them. If one will take the book to which I have been calling attention, What the Negro Wants, and what these 18 contributors representing outstanding Negroes of the United States say, it will be found that every one of them wants the same thing, and the FEPC is one of the instruments or means they are trying to use to break down the line, as a kind of entering wedge. In other words, they are going to force the white people.

One of the Representatives in Congress—I am not permitted to give his name, but he is a Representative—went to one of these hybrid, mongrel organizations in Washington and said, "Send me a stenographer." When she came she darkened the door. She was as black as the ace of spades. He did not take her. That is what they want.

The Civil Service Commission, with its contamination and its lack of fairness and square dealing between the white race and the black race, has even done away with the requirement that every applicant should furnish a photograph on his application blank. So one cannot tell whether an applicant is black or white. That was another great victory for the Negro.

The politicians, knowing that there are a thousand, or five thousand, or twenty thousand, or a hundred thousand votes of colored people in his State or in his district is shaking in his boots all the time, afraid of anything and everything the Negro does or says, and they have

not the manhood to stand up and say, "No; that is not the right thing, not the proper thing, not the patriotic thing, not the best for the country, not the best for you." They will not say that, because they are afraid they will lose votes.

I was talking to one of these Negro-loving politicians in the Congress a few days ago and I said, "What in the hell are you going to do when I get through sending the Negroes to West Africa? You will not have anybody to 'politic' with. There will not be anybody to vote for you. You will be out of business." And that is true.

I wish to call attention to another matter. I quote from The Racial Problem Discussed. Let Us Keep the United States White, by John R. Irvin, Centerville, Ga.:

Is the United States soon to become a hybridized Nation through governmental legislation, controlling the social and economic life of the citizen?

That is the purpose. That is what we are discussing. This is an attempt through legislative enactment to break down the color line in order to aid the day of miscegenation and mongrelization between the races.

That day is coming if we do not do something about it, because every student of history knows that the records of 30,000 years of known history show that whenever the white man and the black man have tried to live side by side, in the end miscegenation and mongrelization and hybridization take place, both the white race and the black race are destroyed, and nothing is left but a yellow race. That was the doctrine old Dr. Boas taught in Columbia University. He taught it to his students, and that damnable doctrine and poison has been scattered all over the United States through Columbia University and his teaching. Today he has students posing as teachers of ethnology and anthropology and trying to teach the American people that there is no difference between the white race and the black race, that they are the same, and had the same common origin.

At Howard University here in Washington there is a professor of anthropology teaching Negroes that the white race descended from the Negro race. And he proves his case! [Laughter.] He says that in the early days, when, through the processes of the years, the northern portion of Africa, which was covered with Negroes at the time, began to dry up and people had to leave that section of Africa as the great Sahara Desert was formed, the part of the Negro race which went north up into Europe became bleached out; that that is the origin of the white race, and that those who stayed south of the Sahara Desert are still black. He said he proved his case, because skeletons of African Negroes have been found buried in the northern part of Europe, which shows that the white man descended from the Negro race. The fool Negroes at Howard University believe that, and the very same folks who are catering to and coddling and fooling and messing around with the Negro in order to get his vote sometimes believe it also, I think. Sometimes I have seen and heard such expressions

and such things done that I am inclined to think they are a little bit kin to some of them. There might be a little mixture.

The chosen process to bring about what is desired is Federal legislation. As soon as they got Executive Order 8802, creating this damnable organization, what happened? They went down into all the departments in Washington, and tore out the partitions which separated the white dining rooms and cafeterias from the colored. Everything had been all right. They were segregated. One was good as the other, but they were separated. They tore out the partitions, they destroyed and tore out all the closets, and forced the white employees in the departments in Washington to eat with them and use the same toilet facilities. That is brotherly love. That is getting the program of social equality over by legislation. The most disgusting thing in Washington life is to see nice sweet girls from North Dakota being forced to use the same stools and toilets used by the Negroes who come from the slums of Washington, a large percentage of them affected by Negro diseases, as the records show.

Somehow some men have not any regard for their own race, no concern about their own blood. For the sake of political gain or political votes they would sacrifice their white blood and their white race—some of them.

The Negro is smart. He knows that in 12 States he holds the balance of power between the white Democrats and the White Republicans, and in Presidential election years there are enough votes in those States to elect a President. They know how to play the game, and they are going to elect a President who favors them. That explains the conduct of certain people in public life.

I read further from Mr. Irvin's book:

During the past decade magazines, newspapers, writers, professors, philanthropists, and fanatical reformers have flooded the country with discussions of racial relations, and with propaganda, teaching the public that there is no difference between the various races, and that they are all the same flesh and blood and equal in refinement, culture, accomplishments, and civilization, and are physically and mentally alike excepting in color and that intermarriage is unharmed.

The southern people are concerned over racial and social relations between the whites and the Negroes because the Negro population in the South is by far the largest bloc of farmers, and differ most in color, refinement, civilization and character. If social barriers are destroyed, and all segregation eliminated, social equality enforced by government edict and law so that schools, churches, hotels, restaurants, parks, recreation centers and picture shows, clubs, busses and Pullmans must be open to all persons of every creed, color, character, or station in life, then indeed is racial integrity a thing of the past, and the white people of the United States would be transferred into a hybrid yellow or brown nation within the next several generations.

That is not a wild statement, Mr. President. The history of 30,000 years shows that to be exactly what will happen.

Human experience teaches that social association and intimacies between people of

different races certainly will bring about, and lead to, intermarriage, even between those who differ in racial affinity, culture or color.

God saw fit to segregate and separate the different races by placing them in different lands. He located the white race in the middle northern hemisphere and placed the Negro in Africa, and the brown and yellow peoples in other spheres, as far as possible from each other. He divided them by color lines as well as by territorial lines so that each race would maintain its racial integrity.

Isolation and segregation, and racial purity and integrity appear to have been the divine plan and intent when He divided mankind by giving to them a distinct varied coloring. There are many misguided Christians and fanatics who think that God made a mistake when He made the black man, and now seek to bleach him by absorption, and by amalgamation.

And I may add—speaking of FEPC—by legislation.

Some of the Southern States have been criticized severely for the passing of laws segregating the whites and Negroes. Since God set the example why should southerners be so severely criticized for following His footsteps?

At this point let's quote a passage from a booklet being circulated in the South.

"Always different races moved about and intermarried. As far as we know there is no immutable law of nature which makes racial intermarriage harmful."

That is what all these Negro professors are teaching, believing, thinking, and dreaming about.

Here is clearly stated that marriage between whites, yellows, Japanese, or Negroes, or other races, is unharmed. Any student knows that there is not a hybrid nation of the present day, or of the past, which occupies a position of prominence, and excels in statesmanship and civilization.

Because when the two are mixed both are destroyed, and the product is a bad egg.

There may be no immutable law of nature against intermarriage between different races, but the only way to promote human progress is by maintaining racial purity. Hybrid nations and peoples in all parts of the world show less progress and are the least civilized in all social and civil accomplishments than nations which have maintained racial integrity. Notable examples may be seen in Egypt, Cuba, Haiti, Liberia, Mexico, north Africa, some Balkan states, and some South American countries. These have never established stable government or advanced civilization. Wherever is found a hybrid nation always you find it to be in a social degenerate condition, replete with revolutions and nothing more than a third- or fourth-rate power.

However, there are many individual half-breeds and hybrids, among men who inherit all the mental genius and good qualities of an ancestor; many instances of brilliant intellectual development in crosses, but when applied to a nation as a whole, most generally the crossing is deleterious and lowers the mental and physical standing of the original strain.

There never was a truer statement of facts than is announced by those words.

Again we quote from a professor at Columbia College:

The races of mankind are what the Bible says they are: "Brothers. In their bodies is the record of their brotherhood."

The physical make-up of every human being and their body formation is identical. So is the the body and physical make-up of animals of the same class. Every breed of dog, whether a setter, a pointer, a Newfoundland,

land, or pug, is physically alike. Who would breed a setter and a pug expecting an improved dog? Who would expect an improved colt from breeding a thoroughbred racer to a Texas pony? Who would expect to look for a better milk cow from the breeding of a whiteface to a scrub? Hybrid children and animals are usually inferior to either parent.

That is where God and nature take care of the situation, and the same rule applies.

In a family of brothers there are always superiors and inferiors, physically, mentally, and morally. "By your fruits shall ye be known." The superior brother can be determined by comparison. Which of them has contributed the greatest benefits to the world and mankind? He is the superior who has done most for humanity. By comparison then, we shall determine which of the races have dominated and elevated humanity. And thus demonstrate which are to be considered superior and which inferior.

The superior must be those who have succeeded in elevating and adding to man's happiness, enlightenment, and civilization.

Those whose influence and example and accomplishments have added nothing to civilization must be considered inferior.

When comparison is made, their rank can be demonstrated.

Shem, Ham, and Japheth were reputed to be the fathers of the three principal divisions of mankind—white, yellow, black.

I do not believe that.

From these three brothers have come all the different races and peoples that now inherit the earth. Through intermarriage there have developed many and various subdivisions in color and racial traits, and diversified habits and customs, which differentiate and make up a variety of many nationalities of the present day.

It is most surprising to me, Mr. President, to find intelligent people insisting that there is mental and cultural equality of the white race and the black race, of the white man and the black man. The white Caucasian race in the United States is a product in part of the culture and education and growth and development and training of three or four thousand years. In everyone of us is a part of that growth and culture and development throughout all these centuries.

When the Negro is taken from the wilds of Africa, behind him lies the history and the accomplishment and the culture and the education of Africa for 3,000 years, and what is it? A blank. Do Senators then expect the product of the growth and the evolution of three or four thousand years of the highest type of civilization to be on the same basis and of the same quality as this product which has only been exposed to civilization for two or three hundred years? Such an argument would be most absurd. It would not make good sense.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield for that purpose?

Mr. BILBO. I yield for that purpose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The absence of a quorum has been suggested. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Alken	Bankhead	Bridges
Austin	Barkley	Briggs
Bailey	Bilbo	Brooks
Ball	Brewster	Buck

Burton	Hoey	Pepper
Bushfield	Johnson, Calif.	Radcliffe
Butler	Johnson, Colo.	Reed
Byrd	Johnston, S. C.	Revercomb
Capper	Kilgore	Robertson
Chandler	La Follette	Saltonstall
Chavez	Langer	Stewart
Connally	Lucas	Taft
Cordon	McClellan	Taylor
Donnell	McFarland	Thomas, Okla.
Downey	McKellar	Thomas, Utah
Eastland	McMahon	Tobey
Ellender	Mead	Tunnell
Ferguson	Millikin	Tydings
Fulbright	Mitchell	Vandenberg
George	Moore	Wagner
Gerry	Morse	Walsh
Green	Murdoch	Wheeler
Guffey	Murray	Wherry
Gurney	Myers	White
Hawkes	O'Daniel	Wiley
Hayden	O'Mahoney	Willis
Hill	Overton	Young

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Florida [Mr. ANDREWS] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH] and the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] are absent on public business.

The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MAYBANK] and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] are absent in Europe visiting battlefields.

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] is absent as a member of the committee attending the funeral of the late Senator Scrugham.

Mr. WHERRY. The Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HART] is absent because of the death of his son.

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD], and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. WILSON] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Idaho [Mr. THOMAS] is absent because of illness.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOEY in the chair). Eighty-one Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, I repeat that I am not now attempting to filibuster. I have merely been elaborating on the faults, sins, inadequacies, viciousness, and foolishness of the FEPC, in the hope that I could convince my very good friend from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ] that he ought not to make a motion to suspend the rule and inject this FEPC poison into a perfectly good appropriation bill carrying appropriations for the life of 16 war agencies. If he does so, he will do it with notice to him and to the world that opposition will be registered continuously in explanation of the amendment, to prevent the waste of \$446,000.

The great majority of the American people, through every means available to test out their will, have expressed their disapproval of this type and character of legislation. Why should the Congress listen to pressure groups which are trying, with ulterior motives, to obtain enactment of the legislation? It cannot result in good to the people. It cannot result in good to the relationship between the races in the United States. It

will most certainly interfere and hamper the orderly processes of commerce and business throughout the United States. Mr. President, why they would listen to and be influenced by these minority groups is beyond my ability to comprehend, for I can assure them that the sober, correct-thinking, straight-thinking element of both the Negroes and the Jews, who are alleged to be behind this legislation, do not favor it and do not want it.

Mr. President, it is not so much what is done to the business world or to the businessmen that hurts, but it is the influence of dread and fear which exists at all times in connection with the conduct of business. If such a law is passed the businessman will be in constant fear of violating some red-tape rule established or sponsored by cracked-brained persons who sometimes are in responsible positions.

When the quorum call was had a while ago, I had been reading to the Senate from a very able presentation of this very question, namely, the influence of race. I now read further from it:

In order to determine which nations and races are superior and which inferior, it will be necessary to compare each with the other, and ascertain which brought the greatest blessings and which contributed most to human civilization and which has been foremost in giving to mankind the greatest economic and social advancement.

The sons of Shem are supposed to be and constitute the white people of the world, and it is a fact that the white man has been first and foremost in promoting civilization. The descendants of Shem were white and are supposed to be the first to emerge from the savage cave age, and begin to grope in the darkness of the dim past for a higher and brighter light. God selected this race as the medium through whom He would make Himself known, and through whom He communicated with His people here on earth, and through whom a Saviour was born. They were the first to worship a true and a living God, and first to establish religion based on faith, hope, and a Supreme Creator.

They gave mankind the Bible and the laws of Moses, the Ten Commandments, and established laws of health and hygiene, and provided the rules of conduct which administered to man's health and welfare.

The white races produced Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the judges of Israel, Moses, Aaron, and the prophets. Through the white people came Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Constantine, and the popes of Rome, whose influence and attainments saved civilization through the Dark Ages.

They were the first to build homes and great cities, parthenons, coliseums and monuments, amphitheatres and cathedrals. They had written language which encouraged learning, and the making of books; they practiced the arts and sciences with which mankind is now blessed. They built ships and became the greatest navigators of the sea; discovered new continents and distant islands, and to all of them they brought the blessings of their discoveries. They have dominated all other people of the world, the yellows and the blacks, and now hold protectorates and concessions over seven-eighths of the population of the earth. They were the first to prohibit slavery and to bring freedom to the ordinary man.

The foregoing contains but a brief sketch of the contributions and service which the white man has rendered and brought to the world. A great and a glorious record.

A superior race in the family of nations, and his superiority is evidenced and shown forth in his wonderful achievements.

But after the accomplishments and records of the human race over a period of several thousand years, as outlined in this very striking and concise statement, we find some white quisling, some sorry specimen of this race which has had such a glorious history, who is ready to sell the whole race, its whole record and its attainments in the course of history down the river, for the sake of a few votes or for a little office or sometimes for the sake of the almighty dollar. Sometimes it is a case of fanaticism, a case of a twisted brain, a case of an unholy and unrighteous influence on their lives. There is a quirk somewhere in their heads which accounts for these exceptions to the rule.

Lillian Smith, the daughter of one of the old, leading families of Georgia, went to school at Columbia University. She became tainted with the doctrine of Dr. Boas, the German Jew who came to this country from Germany. He did not come to the United States until he was between 20 and 30 years of age, I believe. He taught that the solution to the race problem was for the whites and the blacks immediately to intermarry. He said that would solve all the trouble. That is what the Spanish did when they settled in Puerto Rico. Back yonder in the olden days of the success of Spain as an empire, the Spaniards settled in Puerto Rico. They wanted to export the resources of that semitropical land which was very rich at that time. They sent their colonists to Puerto Rico, and they instructed them—and they taught it and urged it and caused it to happen—that the thing to do was to intermarry with the members of the Negro race living in Puerto Rico. I am told that today there are only 12 of the original Spanish families on the island of Puerto Rico that are of all white blood. All the others are mongrels.

Mr. President, what do we find? What is the condition? What are their successes? What are their attainments? They are a charge upon the Treasury of the United States. That is the penalty the white race pays when it attempts to bring about miscegenation, intermarriage, mixing.

I read further from the pamphlet:

We may now direct our attention to the descendants of Jepheth, who is reputed to be the father of many varied types of Oriental races or nations, which are now occupying Oriental Asia, China, Japan, Egypt, and many other smaller divisions throughout the Eastern Hemisphere.

These peoples together constitute the second great division of mankind. No scientist has yet told how or when or what produced the brown, yellow, or dark-colored races. It is asserted, however, that certain chemicals, known as carotene and melanin, which is contained in the skin, produces, or causes, various colors.

In the Bible it is related that in the olden times man had multiplied and had grown great upon the earth, and had assembled to build a great tower to heaven. While at work on Babel, God confounded their language and dispersed the builders into all foreign countries.

The whites emigrated to the Western Hemisphere, those who are now brown and yellow went eastward, and the Egyptians and Africans settled in the great continent of Africa. In order to find homes, these people neces-

sarily traveled slowly and with great difficulty, and when they finally established in foreign countries, were overlooked and forgotten until in later years when they had achieved national existence.

The Egyptians, in the Valley of the Nile, seem to have been the first to establish a great and flourishing civilization, which they transmitted to all other adjoining peoples.

The African tribes failed to profit by or adopt the civilization and enlightenment of the Egyptians, who were their next door neighbors, and they still remain a stationary, mysterious, barbarous people to this day.

The colored Asiatics, Chinese, Japanese, and other lesser divisions of mankind, by their own initiative, isolated and separated, developed a civilization equal to other nations. Measured by their accomplishments they must be classed with and be denominated a worthy brother in the family of nations of a superior quality.

On the preceding pages we have outlined and tried to show what has been a few of the accomplishments of the white and the yellow nations and races.

We will now briefly give an idea of what the African Negro race has accomplished and what it has done during its existence to improve humanity, and what this people has accomplished as one of the brothers in the families of mankind.

In all the pages of history, we do not find any account of a movement initiated by the Negro or African race, which was of benefit to the world.

Mr. President, that is a very strong statement.

We might well close this narrative and go no further in comparing the Negro with the nations mentioned herein, the comparison would be odious and unprofitable and we can, with propriety and truth, bring this discussion to an end by stating that the African Negro races have been "weighed in the balances and found wanting."

From the beginning of time up to the year 1865 they neither had a god nor a religion. They never established a national existence, they never had a government, a kingdom nor a king, never a court of law, nor a legislative body. They never produced a statesman, an inventor, never had a language, never produced a writer nor a book, never built a pyramid or a monument or a shrine, and have left no mark or lasting evidence that there ever existed in the African Continent such a people or a race. Their accomplishments and their existence have added nothing to humanity and to the world.

What I have read represents the history of the race now dominating the majority—shall I say?—of the United States Congress. That is apparently the situation. If this minority can come forward and say to Senators and Representatives, "If you do not vote this way or that way we will vote against you as a group," and Members of Congress listen to them, and become guilty of passing such absurd and absolutely idiotic and trouble-making legislation as is here proposed, the Negro who, with three or four thousand years behind him, now stands with nothing to his credit will be operating and controlling the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States and will have his own way. That is the direction toward which we are heading. I think it is time that we called a halt in the name of the white men of this country.

I continue reading:

Now, from the beginning of time the African Continent has been only a great black spot from which no spark of intellectual, so-

cial, or economic light has ever emanated, which tended to raise mankind, or their teeming millions, above the brute and animals among whom they lived. The people of the South cannot be forced to believe and consider that this race, and the people of these tribes are equal brothers in the brotherhood of mankind.

Since 1865, the improved hybrids among them, and many full-blooded Negroes, have taken on a veneer of civilization and education which encourages the belief that in time they may become worthy citizens of the country. There are many living examples today of respected and appreciated men and women among them.

In the preceding pages it is apparent to any young student that intermarriage between dissimilar races is contrary to natural laws and is harmful, and that it does not improve but rather deteriorates the original stock.

It is further shown that if all men are brothers and are alike physically, they differ mentally, morally, and socially in their make-up. Some are superior and some are inferior when measured by their accomplishments.

Furthermore, God in His wisdom saw fit to segregate and separate different races by placing each color and class in different lands, removed from intercourse and contact in order to preserve racial integrity.

In the following chapter we will review the accomplishments of the Negro since he became a free citizen of the United States, in the year 1865, and thus ascertain if his accomplishments and social status entitles him to demand equal social privileges with the white citizens of the United States.

In other words, the efforts of the modern ethnologists and anthropologists in endeavoring to get the idea across that there is no difference between the white man and the Negro may suit other Senators who are willing to swallow it, but, so far as I am concerned, I am not ready to swallow such tommyrot. If other Senators wish to accept it, very well; if they wish to believe it, very well; but there is nothing to it.

I continue reading:

Other nations of the world have a background of a thousand birthdays to their credit; marked by effort, sacrifice, bloodshed, and tears, through which they secured, and worked out for themselves, civilization. The 1st day of January 1865 is the first birthday of the American Negro. Then his citizenship became effective in the United States.

That was when Abraham Lincoln said in his Emancipation Proclamation that the Negro should be segregated and sent to a country of his own.

I continue reading:

So it may be observed that he has had just 80 years of civilization conferred on him by the white people of America. Some white people in America are advocating and advising that absorption may be the final solution and settlement of the race issues. Such a process and solution would be most welcomed by the Negro and certain social organizations.

No other people in the history of the world have had thrust upon them a perfected civilization. By the stroke of a pen seven or eight million barbarians were handed a complete, a matured, a perfected civilization upon a silver platter. They were given a government, a national home, a citizenship, free schools, religion, language, books, art and science, with helpful hands to instruct them in all economic and civic relations.

Mr. President, we are still doing that for the Negroes. In the bill which the Senate passed yesterday there was an appropriation of nearly a million dollars to

a school in Washington called Howard University, the only school or college in the United States which is being supported by Federal tax money. That school was established in 1867. Not until 1879 did Congress even think about appropriating money for the support of Howard University. The first appropriation was for \$10,000. It has since been increased to approximately a million dollars. Furthermore, that institution has 26 beautiful buildings, and we have spent several million dollars recently to equip those buildings.

I think that in justice, if we are to play the game fairly, the Negro has made so much progress, there are so many Negro-lovers preaching and speaking and teaching and writing in his behalf, and he is so smart, why should we continue to spend the taxpayers' money for this college, when it is a discrimination against the Poles of this country? The Poles should have a college supported by the Federal taxpayers. They should have a university. Then why not provide one for the Jews? Let us have a great Jewish university, and let Uncle Sam support it. Incidentally, we might have one for the Christian whites of this country, supported by the Federal taxpayers.

I think it is about time we should establish and give each group or race in the United States a university supported by appropriations by the Federal Government, a million dollars a year, or we had better close out Howard and let the Negroes, with all their money and all their progress and all their wealth—they certainly have a lot of folks fooled and willing to put up money for them—provide for the care of their own school. We have already given them the equipment for the institution, and it has a library worth more than a million dollars, new buildings, and a good Baptist preacher at the head of it, Dr. Mordecai Johnson. I think it is time we were serving notice on the board of trustees and the faculty and students and alumni of Howard University that the Congress of the United States does not feel justified in going any further in spending a million dollars a year for the support of this Negro school, when it does not appropriate for any other race or any other class or group in the United States.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator from Mississippi yield to me for a few moments?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I wish to talk for about 5 minutes.

Mr. BILBO. I will yield if I do not lose the floor.

Mr. McKELLAR. It is understood that the Senator will not be taken from the floor.

Mr. President, I wish to call the attention of all Senators to the great importance of passing the pending bill. It contains appropriations for the National War Labor Board, the Office of the Alien Property Custodian, the Office of National Defense Transportation, the Office of Economic Stabilization, the Office of Scientific Research and Development, the Office of Inter-American Affairs, the Office of War Information, the Smaller

War Plants Corporation, the War Shipping Administration—the latter amounting to \$367,000,000, a very important matter—the Office for Emergency Management, and the general provisions. The entire amount appropriated in the bill to operate these agencies of our Government is \$976,613,730, nearly a billion dollars.

Mr. President, this is the 27th day of June. The bill should be passed and become the law by July 1. There is but one item now which is really in dispute.

Mr. President, I think I can safely say that no man ever worked harder, more assiduously, or more vigorously than have I to get this appropriation bill and all the appropriation bills passed by next Saturday, June 30, when they must be passed unless these governmental agencies are to stop functioning. The whole amount involved in the matter now pending, which is an intensely controversial question, is less than half a million dollars. The exact amount is \$446,200.

I realized that there might take place what is happening now in these closing days, when the bill must be passed, if possible. There are seven amendments still undetermined. They are not important amendments, but every one of them can be debated. If we adopt the amendment now being discussed, there will be another to follow. New speeches can be made and time taken.

Furthermore, tomorrow the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] will make a report on the San Francisco Conference, and that will take some time. On the next day the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] is to make a report on the San Francisco Conference, which will also take time.

Mr. President, I am trying to point out that if this debate continues as it is now proceeding, there will not be a chance to pass the bill and keep these agencies of Government running as they should continue.

Under those circumstances, for several days I have tried vigorously, earnestly, and honestly to work out some compromise between the rival factions, in order to get the matter adjusted so as to let these operations of the Government continue, and let the appropriation bills be passed.

Mr. President, I have done everything I possibly could do to have the pending bill passed. The only thing that stands in the way of its passage is the FEPC, and knowing of course intimately the rival factional situation and how intense the feeling is, it has been extraordinarily difficult even to talk about a compromise. But such was my desire to get these appropriations through at the appointed time that I have done everything I could do to bring about a compromise. I thought we had succeeded in bringing one about this morning.

Mr. President, I ask to have printed at this point in the RECORD the amendment prepared by the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ] as it will be offered if that point is ever reached, and an amendment to it which I have prepared as the compromise which I sought to have agreed to. I ask that my compromise be printed in the RECORD immediately after

the printing of the amendment proposed to be offered by the Senator from New Mexico.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment intended to be proposed by the Senator from New Mexico will be printed in the RECORD, and the amendment suggested by the Senator from Tennessee will be printed and lie on the table.

The amendments are as follows:

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. CHAVEZ to the bill (H. R. 3363) making appropriations for war agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes, the following amendment, namely: On page 1, after line 8, insert the following:

"COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE

"Salaries and expenses: For all expenses necessary to enable the Committee on Fair Employment Practice to carry out any functions lawfully vested in it by Executive Orders Nos. 8802 and 9346, including salary of a chairman at not to exceed \$8,000 per annum and six other members at not to exceed \$25 per diem when actually engaged; travel expenses (not to exceed \$63,800); expenses of witnesses in attendance at committee hearings, when necessary; printing and binding (not to exceed \$4,800); purchase of newspapers and periodicals (not to exceed \$500); not to exceed \$694 for deposit in the general fund of the Treasury for cost of penalty mail as required by section 2 of the act of June 28, 1944 (Public Law 364); and the temporary employment of persons, by contract or otherwise, without regard to section 3709 of the Revised Statutes and the civil-service and classification laws (not to exceed \$8,900); \$446,200: *Provided*, That no part of the funds herein appropriated shall be used to pay the compensation of any person to initiate, investigate, or prosecute any complaint against any defendant where such defendant does not have the same right to appeal an adverse decision of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice to the President of the United States, or to refer said complaint to the President of the United States for final disposition, as is asserted by or allowed the said Committee on Fair Employment Practice in cases where persons complained against refuse to abide by its orders: *Provided further*, That no part of this appropriation shall be used to pay the compensation of any person to initiate, investigate, or prosecute any proceedings against any person, firm, or corporation which seeks to effect the seizure or operation of any plant or other property of such person, firm, or corporation by Federal authority for failure to abide by any rule or regulation of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, or for failure to abide by any order passed by the Committee on Fair Employment Practice: *Provided further*, That no part of the funds herein appropriated shall be used to pay the compensation of any person employed by said Committee on Fair Employment Practice who issues or attempts to enforce any rule, regulation, or order which repeals, amends, or modifies any law enacted by the Congress."

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. McKELLAR to the amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. CHAVEZ to the bill (H. R. 3363) making appropriations for war agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes, viz:

Page 1, line 6, strike out "not to exceed" and insert in lieu thereof "the rate of."

Page 1, line 7, after the word "at" insert "the rate of."

Page 1, line 8, strike out "\$63,800" and insert in lieu thereof "\$31,266."

Page 2, line 2, strike out "\$4,800" and insert in lieu thereof "\$2,400."

Page 2, line 3, strike out "\$500" and insert in lieu thereof "\$250."

Page 2, line 4, strike out "\$694" and insert in lieu thereof "\$231.33."

Page 2, line 10, strike out "\$8,900" and insert in lieu thereof "\$4,450."

Page 2, line 10, strike out "\$446,200" and insert in lieu thereof "\$250,000."

Page 3, line 9, after the word "Congress" insert a colon and the following: "*And provided further*, That this appropriation is for the sole purpose of carrying out the functions of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice created by Executive order until 6 months from July 1, 1945."

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, my substitute suggestion would simply cut the various subsidiary amounts in half. The proposed appropriation for FEPC is \$446,200. My proposal would substitute \$250,000 for that amount, and cut in half the individual amounts provided in the amendment proposed to be offered by the Senator from New Mexico. My amendment further provides:

And provided further, That this appropriation is for the sole purpose of carrying out the functions of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice created by Executive order until 6 months from July 1, 1945.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President—

Mr. McKELLAR. I will yield to the Senator in one moment.

Mr. President, the purpose of that is to adjust and compromise so that these very necessary appropriation bills can be passed. If the matter comes up for vote every Senator will vote as he sees fit, of course. I do not know whether my good, generous and kindly friend, the Senator from New Mexico, has with him two-thirds of the Members of this body who will vote with him in his attempt to have his amendment adopted. Adoption of his amendment requires a two-thirds majority. To my mind it is a toss-up whether two-thirds of the membership of the Senate are with him, or whether those on the other side can muster one-third of the membership of the Senate. I think it is a very doubtful question.

Mr. President, under those circumstances, with \$1,000,000,000 of Government work in danger of being absolutely stopped, it is absolutely necessary, it seems to me, that we should all drop any feelings we may have about the matter.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President—

Mr. McKELLAR. I will yield to the Senator from New Mexico in a moment. We should drop any feelings we have about the matter and agree simply to postpone this subject for 6 months. Certainly the proponents of the amendment have a great deal to gain because it is very doubtful whether the amendment would receive the necessary two-thirds majority. On the other hand, as I look at it, those of us who are not so much concerned with the amendment as we are concerned with carrying on the Government as it should be carried on should have reason to believe, and I think both sides should have reason to feel that they have done a fair and a just thing under the circumstances if the compromise is adopted.

Mr. President, the war is still going on and we might well agree to let the matter go over 6 months. Bills are pending in both Houses to establish a legal FEPC. Fights on those measures are yet to come. If the efforts to have such bills passed should fail then what I now pro-

pose would not make any difference. If they should succeed, appropriations will have to be made under legislation to be enacted hereafter. Appropriations would not be made under Executive order, because the Executive order expires when the war is over. For that reason I plead with my two friends. I almost implore them—for heaven's sake, let us come to an agreement so that the appropriations contained in the pending measure may be made.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, why get after me? I have not been delaying this matter.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator wait one moment, please, and I will yield to him. I simply wish to implore both the Senator from Mississippi and the Senator from New Mexico, for heaven's sake, let us agree to a compromise and pass the bill. It is absolutely necessary that it should be passed. If the bill is not passed it will be one of the most embarrassing things that has ever happened to me. I have been acting chairman of the Committee on Appropriations for several years. It has never happened to me before that necessary appropriations bills were not passed before July 1. I want to have the pending bill passed now. I am disregarding any feeling I have in the matter. I am disregarding any position I may want to take in the matter, any purpose I may have in the matter, for the purpose of seeing if we cannot reach an agreement honorable to each side that will allow us to pass the pending appropriation bill, which is so necessary in carrying on our Government.

I now yield to the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, neither the Senator from New Mexico nor any other Senator interested in the amendment concerning FEPC has delayed the passage of the bill. The delay has been caused by those who probably do not want the amendment regarding FEPC to be adopted in any form. I have been anxious to compromise. I have compromised. The agency in question was created under as much authority of law as was OWI, for which the Senate approved an appropriation of \$39,000,000. This agency was created under as much authority of law as was the Office of Inter-American Affairs. It was created under as much authority of law as was the War Relocation Authority. The majority of Senators are trying to continue an agency that was created for war purposes, and simply because some Senator delays the vote on the amendment we are accused of delaying action on the bill.

Mr. President, I will now make a proposition to the Senator from Tennessee. The Bureau of the Budget approved \$599,000 for this agency. In order to try to compromise I agreed to ask only for the amount that was provided last year. This morning Senators came to us with a proposition to cut the amount to \$250,000. I will agree with the proposal made by the Senator from Tennessee if he can get his friends who are opposing the amendment to withdraw their proviso, and we can pass the bill

in 3 minutes. If a desire exists to be fair, let us try to be fair.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I thought we had agreed this morning on this compromise, but I find that we are not now agreed. There was a misunderstanding about it. But surely the Senator from New Mexico cannot accuse me of trying to delay. I have not delayed this measure one moment. I have been trying to have it passed ever since the bill was reported last Wednesday. I find myself against almost an impenetrable wall. I am stopped right in the middle of my effort. I want it understood that I offer this proposal in the spirit of friendly, genuine compromise. I say to the Senator from New Mexico that I had the greatest difficulty in getting the Senator from Mississippi to agree. The Senator from New Mexico will recall that he doubted whether the Senator from Mississippi would agree to the proposal when he presented it to him, and he was not willing to take my word for it, so I went to the Senator from Mississippi and asked him again and he told me that he would agree to it, and I thought it was all over. Then some question arose as to the language. This language simply postpones the question for 6 months. There is nothing in this language to which any reasonable person could object. It merely postpones the question for 6 months. We could not appropriate the money and allow the agency to operate for the whole year. The language is as follows:

And provided further, That this appropriation is for the sole purpose of carrying out the functions of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice created by Executive order until 6 months from July 1, 1945.

Under the terms of the original amendment the agency would have been continued until June 30, 1946. Under the terms of this amendment it would be continued until January 1, 1946—a difference of 6 months. That is all there is to it. There cannot be anything else to it. There is no suggestion of liquidation.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. CHAVEZ. In order to be consistent, would the Senator be willing to adopt the same provision with respect to the OWI, the WRA, and the Office of Inter-American Affairs?

Mr. McKELLAR. No one has advocated that course. The Senator from New Mexico has not advocated it. He is a member of our committee. It is not advocated by anyone else.

I am merely trying, in the utmost kindness and friendship, to adjust the differences between friends of mine on both sides of the question; and like the usual peacemaker, I am being mauled very extensively here this afternoon.

I should dislike to see the pending bill fail. It would be a shame. It would be a discredit to the Senate if a reasonable compromise were not entered into and the bill allowed to pass.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I dislike to disagree with my friend from Tennessee; but I deny that it is a disgrace to the Senate

when an amendment is approved in the Committee on Appropriations by a vote of 14 to 4, and is held up merely because some Senator is filibustering against it. I do not think it is fair for the Senator from Tennessee to accuse the Committee on Appropriations, which by a vote of 14 to 4, instructed me to present the amendment to the Senate. In my opinion, what is a disgrace is to have talk instead of voting on the amendment. Why do not the opponents get ready to vote and defeat the amendment?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President—

Mr. McKELLAR. Just a moment. Let me answer what has been said.

I am afraid that my friend has allowed his interest in the matter to carry him a little too far. I have made no charges against the Appropriations Committee of the Senate. I have been a Member of the Senate for a long time, and I think the Appropriations Committee of the Senate is one of the grandest bodies of men with whom I have ever associated. I feel honored every time I look at them. Not long ago I had a picture of them taken. If I should ever retire, I certainly will have that picture framed and placed in my home. I am very proud of it. It is a striking picture of a wonderful group of men. I am glad to say that the distinguished Senator from New Mexico is one of them. It is a splendid group of men, and I would not reflect on any one of them for anything in the world.

We have before us, as we all know, one of the most inflammatory contentions that could possibly exist among mankind. I am merely trying to adjust the differences between my friends. I am trying to relieve myself of any preconceived notions. So far as I am concerned, I am perfectly willing to vote on the amendment at any time. A two-thirds vote is necessary to suspend the rule. We cannot help that. There is no authority of law for this agency. I cannot help that. Heretofore appropriations for the agency have been made by unanimous consent; but this time there is a contention with respect to the agency, and I am trying to adjust the differences.

Notwithstanding the statement which has been made by my distinguished friend from New Mexico, I hope he will think the matter over. I ask him to consider our relationship on the committee. I would very much dislike to break the record which we have established and maintained for so long, of always passing our appropriation bills by June 30. I made the same appeal to my friend from Mississippi [Mr. Bilbo]. I must say that it took him a long time to agree to my suggestion, but he finally agreed to it. I hope the Senator from New Mexico will also agree.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. McMAHON. I find myself somewhat confused. What has the Senator from Mississippi agreed to?

Mr. McKELLAR. He has agreed to the suggested amendment, which would reduce the appropriation to \$250,000, and permit the agency to continue to operate until January 1.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. BILBO. The Senator has overlooked one item. I agreed to it provided it was understood that at the end of the 6 months' period the FEPC would be liquidated.

Mr. McKELLAR. I fear that I am getting into deeper water all the time.

Mr. BILBO. That is the meat in the coconut.

Mr. McKELLAR. It seems that all my efforts toward adjustment and compromise are getting nowhere because of the differences between my two friends.

Mr. BILBO. I will leave it to any Member of the Senate. The way the Senator states the case, there is no compromise.

Mr. McKELLAR. There may not be.

Mr. BILBO. The Senator is proposing to give the FEPC 6 months in which to organize, fatten, and get ready to obtain passage of permanent legislation.

Mr. McKELLAR. While we are on that subject let me explain. There is no way to keep a Senator from introducing any bill he wishes to introduce—for a permanent FEPC, a permanent alliance with Great Britain, a permanent alliance with Russia, or any other bill he wishes to introduce. We cannot agree that he may not introduce it. The question arises on the passage of the bill.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President—

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator from Alabama is a warm friend of mine. He is a member of the committee, and I know that he sympathizes with me in the distress which I feel at not being able to have the pending bill passed promptly.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I always sympathize with the Senator when he is disturbed and distressed.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am disturbed and distressed about this bill—

Mr. BANKHEAD. I admire the Senator from Tennessee for his righteous efforts. I merely wish to ask him a question.

The Senator from New Mexico stated that he was instructed by the committee to present this amendment.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I wonder if that was an accurate statement, or whether it was merely an authorization.

Mr. McKELLAR. It was an authorization, but a vote was taken, and my recollection is that a large majority of the Appropriations Committee voted to authorize the Senator from New Mexico to offer his amendment on the floor. That was the only way it could be done. There is no authority of law for the agency. It is necessary first to suspend the rule of the Senate in order to offer the amendment. The Senator from New Mexico was authorized by a large majority of the committee—I have forgotten the number—to make the motion to suspend the rule and offer the amendment. That is the way we must ordinarily proceed in matters of this kind.

I felt that we should come to an agreement. I have interrupted the Senator from Mississippi, and I apologize to him. I was merely making an effort in the hope that I could get the two rival fac-

tions to come to an agreement. I still feel that we should pass all the appropriation bills before the end of the fiscal year. My old friend WALLACE WHITE is looking at me. I know he feels exactly the same way; and I believe that nine-tenths of us feel the same way. I hope the rival factions will get together.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. CHAVEZ. On the question of compromise, let me make a proposition: I will agree to the language of the amendment prepared by the Senator from Tennessee to reduce the appropriation to \$250,000, provided the other side agrees to eliminate the proviso.

Mr. McKELLAR. Of course, as I told the Senator, the other side has not agreed to do so. That may necessitate further negotiations; and the first thing we know this bill will be in the discard, because there are seven committee amendments remaining to be disposed of, and one man can talk the bill to death between now and Saturday night.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. I hope the Senator will not give up hope of obtaining action on the bill. I do not believe that the situation is hopeless.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am glad to hear the Senator talk that way. From the way he talked to me a while ago, I did not think there was a chance in the world, and I have just been appealing to both factions.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have been doing the same thing all day. I have consulted many times with the Senator from Tennessee. He has been cooperative, as I have tried to be. I hope we can adjust the difficulty. I think it is not hopeless, and I trust the Senator will not lose heart and courage. We have 3 or 4 days yet.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have just 3 days in which to use all the courage I have.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator is noted for his courage, and I hope he will not become faint-hearted now. I do not think he will.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am becoming very pessimistic about the chances of the passage of this bill.

Mr. BARKLEY. Frequently we have these situations at the end of the fiscal year, but usually we work them out.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. McMAHON. I should like to ascertain whether the Senator from Mississippi has agreed to the following arrangement:

And provided further, That this appropriation is for the sole purpose of carrying out the functions of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice created by Executive order until 6 months from July 1, 1945.

The Senator from Mississippi has agreed to that; has he not?

Mr. BILBO. If that means the termination of the agency and a period of liquidation—

Mr. McMAHON. Of course, if I know the meaning of the English language, it does not mean any such thing.

Mr. BILBO. Then, I did not agree to it.

Mr. McMAHON. Does the Senator agree to it only if it is interpreted as meaning the liquidation of the agency?

Mr. BILBO. Yes.

Mr. McMAHON. Of course, that is not written into the proposed amendment.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I wish to be perfectly frank, and I wish to say that I thought the meaning was perfectly plain. I usually am as plain as a man can be in the use of language. Certainly I am as plain in the use of language as I am able to be, because it is never my purpose to use language which cannot be understood. When I read the language, I thought the Senator from Mississippi agreed to it. I believe that, upon reflecting, he will recall that that is the fact.

Mr. BILBO. No; I have never seen that.

Mr. McKELLAR. The copy which has just been read is a different copy. The copy I had was written out in my own handwriting. The Senator may have misunderstood it.

Mr. BILBO. The Senator will remember that I insisted that it meant the termination and liquidation of the FEPC, and as a further consideration I asked that the agreement be that there be no effort to pass the bill—which is now pending and on our calendar—providing for the creation of a permanent agency. The Senator said I was asking for too much, so I withdrew that part of it.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I believe the Senator is a good Baptist or a good Methodist; is he not?

Mr. BILBO. I am in perfect standing.

Mr. McKELLAR. In what church?

Mr. BILBO. In the Baptist Church.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will not the Senator be good enough to go home tonight and pray over the matter, and then see if we cannot come to an agreement with our distinguished friend from New Mexico? I know he is a good Catholic.

Mr. CHAVEZ. In good standing.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes; in good standing.

Mr. BARKLEY. If we can get those two denominations together we shall have no trouble.

Mr. McKELLAR. I hope the Senator from Mississippi will pray over it and will reach a proper decision.

Mr. BILBO. I will keep on praying that the Lord will help me to end the FEPC.

But I wish to say to my friend from New Mexico that I am sure the Senator from Tennessee did not mean to charge him with delaying action on the bill, because in all fairness it must be said that the Senator from New Mexico has not done a thing up to this hour to delay passage of the war agencies appropriation bill, and I do not want that charge placed against him. But I am afraid the Senator will be guilty of delaying action on the bill if he makes a motion to suspend the rule in order that he might use that little squirt gun from Mexico to inject poison into this bill.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Of course, Mr. President, the Senator will permit me to take that responsibility, if I wish to do so.

Mr. BILBO. Of course. But I wish to give the Senator and the world notice that if the bill providing appropriations for these 16 agencies is not passed, it will be because the sponsors of the FEPC would prefer to see those agencies fail, rather than to have the FEPC appropriation fail.

Now I wish to say to the Senator from Tennessee, who is a very delightful character, and of whom I am very fond—in fact, I love him, and we have many matters in common which make us of one mind.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, my attention was diverted for a moment, but I understand that the Senator has been complimenting me. I receive so few compliments that I should like to know just what it was the Senator said.

Mr. BILBO. I was telling the Senator how very fond I am of him; in fact, I love him. We have things in common; we are both bachelors, you understand. [Laughter.]

I wish to say in reference to the proposition the Senator from Tennessee has offered, that insofar as its being a compromise is concerned, there is no compromise.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Let me make a suggestion. The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] has assured me that he will do everything in the world he can do to bring about a settlement of this matter.

Mr. BILBO. Yes.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will not the Senator from Mississippi be kind enough not to discuss it further this afternoon and let us see if we can get together tomorrow? If the Senator will do that, I shall be greatly obliged to him.

Mr. BILBO. I will just make the statement that the Senator's proposed compromise is not a compromise.

Mr. President, when I was interrupted a short time ago I was beginning to read, for the information of my friend, the Senator from New Mexico, and others, a pamphlet entitled "The Birthday of the American Negro." It is very interesting. The citizenship of the American Negro dates from 1865, when he was made a citizen by the proclamation of Lincoln, followed by the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States. I read further from the pamphlet:

So it may be observed that he has had just 80 years of civilization conferred on him by the white people of America, although he had been exposed to it as a slave for a longer period than that. Some white people of America are advocating and advising that absorption may be the final solution and settlement of the race issue. Such a process and solution would be most welcome by the Negro and certain social organizations.

If Senators will read this book to which I have been calling their attention, and if they will then read it a second time, and if they will read the recent writings of some of the Negro intelligentsia, some of the educated class of Negroes, they will find that those Negroes are boldly preaching and advocating the intermixing of the races in America, and they ad-

vocate it as the only solution of the race problem.

Let us consider for a moment Richard Wright, who came from my State. In all his writings, he is preaching the intermarriage of the races. In fact, he has gone to Brooklyn, N. Y., and has married a white woman, and he is living there now. Many other Negroes are preaching the same doctrine. There are a number of associations which are advocating the intermarriage of the races, and I am sorry to say that there are some so-called white people who are advocating the same thing.

Senators would be surprised to know the number of white people today who are married to Negroes. There are a great many persons in Michigan who are married to Negroes. The same situation prevails in Illinois. It prevails also to a large extent in New York, Philadelphia, and in the District of Columbia. It might be interesting to Senators to know that some of the white girls who work in governmental departments are married and living with Negro men. There is no law against a situation of that kind in the District of Columbia. Since I became a Member of the Senate I have introduced bills which would prohibit intermarriage in the District of Columbia. I shall reintroduce a similar bill later on. I did not introduce one during the last session of Congress because I did not wish to interfere with any war program while the war was going on.

Mr. President, I do not believe any of the suggestions which have been made for solving problems between the races are worth very much. We may try to stopgap them, but the effect will remain for only a short while. We have kept the white race pure in the South for 150 years. We have drawn the line between intermarriage of the white and colored races. However, in the sections of the country where the line has been broken down, it may be seen what the result has been.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have been informed that the Senator from Mississippi is willing that with the exception of the pending amendment, the remaining committee amendments to the pending bill which have not yet been acted upon may be agreed to this afternoon.

Mr. BILBO. No; that is not my understanding. I will agree to let the bill go over and be taken up again tomorrow.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, last evening the majority leader gave notice that, if necessary, a night session would be held—

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I do not wish to take the Senator from Mississippi off the floor.

Mr. BILBO. If the Senator desires that the Senate take a recess, it is all right with me. I am not tired, however.

Mr. McKELLAR. I was hoping that we could bring the amendments in number down to one by tomorrow.

Mr. BILBO. Oh, no.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator is not willing that that be done?

Mr. BILBO. No; I am willing to quit just as we are.

Mr. McKELLAR. I see that we are not making any progress. I had understood that a prayer would be made tonight if we could narrow the amendments to only one.

Mr. BILBO. I am willing to stop now, but I want the floor tomorrow.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. GEORGE, from the Committee on Finance:

Sundry officers for promotion in the Regular Corps of the United States Public Health Service; and

Sundry persons for appointment in the Regular Corps of the United States Public Health Service.

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads;

Elbert W. Franklin, to be postmaster at Floresville, Tex., in place of B. T. McDaniel, transferred.

CONFIRMATION OF ARMY NOMINATIONS

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, as in executive session I ask that the Army nominations on the calendar be confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations in the Army are confirmed en bloc, and, without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

WAR AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 3368) making appropriations for war agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, may I have an understanding with the Senator from Tennessee that I am yielding for the purpose of making a motion to adjourn?

Mr. McKELLAR. Not to adjourn, but I expect to move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

Mr. BILBO. May it be understood that I may have the floor tomorrow when the Senate convenes?

Mr. McKELLAR. I do not know whether an agreement has been reached or not, but the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] expects to make a speech tomorrow in the nature of a report to the Congress with regard to the recent Conference held at San Francisco.

Mr. BILBO. I most certainly will yield in a case of that kind, but I want the floor when the Senate convenes again tomorrow.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Texas in order that he may make his statement?

Mr. BILBO. Certainly; with the understanding that I will not lose the floor.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, is it the purpose of the Senator from Tennessee to make a motion at this time to recess until tomorrow?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes.

Mr. BILBO. Yes; and give us a chance to pray.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I think the Senator from Mississippi needs a lot of prayer, and needs to agree to a decent kind of a compromise.

Mr. McKELLAR. I hope he will take his problem to a higher power and come to a conclusion which will be just and right.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Yes. I suggest also that he read the speech delivered by President Truman in San Francisco yesterday. It might help the prayer.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am quite sure it would.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Last evening the majority leader gave notice to the Senate of the possibility of holding a session tonight.

Mr. McKELLAR. There cannot be a meeting of the Senate tonight. The majority leader [Mr. BARKLEY] has been called to Chicago, where he expects to make a speech tonight at 8 o'clock. He will return in the morning. He will not be present in Washington tonight.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I am afraid that would interfere with the extended explanation of the FEPC which the Senator from Mississippi is making, but I wished to give him an opportunity to consume the time between now and 6 o'clock tomorrow morning. I was hoping that the Senate would hold a night session.

Mr. BILBO. I will be glad of the opportunity to remain here if the Senator from New Mexico will also remain.

RECESS

Mr. McKELLAR. I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 46 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Thursday, June 28, 1945, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 27 (legislative day of June 25), 1945:

TEMPORARY APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

To be lieutenant generals

Matthew Bunker Ridgway
Alvan Cullom Gillem, Jr.
Troy Houston Middleton
Willis Dale Crittenger
Nathan Farragut Twining
Charles Philip Hall
John Reed Hodge
Raymond Stallings McLain
LeRoy Lutes
Robert Charlwood Richardson, Jr.
John Edwin Hull
Ennis Clement Whitehead

To be major generals

Ewart Gladstone Plank
Lauris Norstad
Clovis Ethelbert Byers
Donald Weldon Brann
Lawrence Carmel Jaynes
Ray Tyson Maddocks
Edward Michael Powers
Stanley Lonzo Scott
George Henry Decker
Harold Mark McClelland

To be brigadier generals

Joseph Pringle Cleland
George Irving Back
Orlando Clarendon Mood
James Thomas Loomer
Francis Hill
Robert Quinney Brown
Rinaldo Van Brunt
George William Rice
James Clyde Fry
George Allan Miller
Harvey Edward

Carl Amandus Brandt
Edward Haviland Lastayo
Armistead Davis Mead, Jr.
Lawrence Joseph Carr
Laurence Knight Ladue
Eugene McGinley
Frederic Lord Hayden
Walter Robertson Agee
Louis Wilson Maddox
George Stanley Smith
Robert Whitney Burns
John Henry Woodberry
Vincent Joseph Esposito
John Forest Goodman
Frank Sayles Bowen, Jr.
Gordon Edmund Textor
Milton Wylie Arnold
Edward Lyman Munson, Jr.
Orlen Nelson Thompson
John Simpson Guthrie
William Wesley Wanamaker
Charles Moore Walson
William Preston Corderman
Harry McKenzie Roper
Edwin William Chamberlain
Yantis Halbert Taylor
Leonard Dickson Weddington
Andrew Daniel Hopping
Warren Henry McNaught
Woods King
F. Trubee Davison
Hugh Meglone Milton 2d
Elliott Carr Cutler
Frank Richard Denton
Harold Ross Harris
Edward Reynolds
Harry H. Vaughan

To be major generals

Edward Peck Curtis
John Merryman Franklin

APPOINTMENTS IN THE REGULAR ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

To be second lieutenants, Air Corps, with rank from June 5, 1945

Elmer Resides Haslett
Bernard Moran James

APPOINTMENTS, BY TRANSFER, IN THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

TO FINANCE DEPARTMENT

Capt. Joseph Cobb Stancook

TO SIGNAL CORPS

Lt. Col. Chester Arthur Carlsten

TO CAVALRY

First Lt. John Fuller Davis, Jr.

TO INFANTRY

Lt. Col. William Leonard Ritter
First Lt. William Robert Hughes
First Lt. Joseph Barry Yost

TO AIR CORPS

Second Lt. David Mortimer Falk

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27, 1945

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore, Mr. McCORMACK.

DESIGNATION OF SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication which was read by the Clerk:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 27, 1945.

I hereby designate the Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK to act as Speaker pro tempore today.

SAM RAYBURN.

PRAYER

Rev. J. Warren Hastings, minister of the National City Christian Church,

Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

Our Father, which art in Heaven, we thank Thee that we can be here today to give of the best of our abilities to the solving of national problems which confront us.

We thank Thee that men and women have always been helped when they have called upon Thee. We thank Thee, dear Father, that we are aware of the fact that in ancient times men were directed by Thy Spirit. Thou didst lead Abraham; Thou didst open the way for Jacob; Thou didst lead and strengthen Elijah. The rays of Thy love and leadership ever shone before the footsteps of Paul. Thou didst lead Thine own Son to the peaks of glory. We thank Thee, Lord, that Thou art a God who will help to guide us if we call upon Thee.

We are thankful, dear Lord, that Thou hast brought us to this Nation in a day like this. In the Old Book we read the message, "Esther, thou didst come to the kingdom for such a day as this"; and in the New Book we read the message, "In the fullness of time God sent forth His Son." We believe that we have been called by Thee to undertake tremendous responsibilities in this most critical period of our Nation's life. Each one of us, dear Father, has a sense of destiny in our hearts.

Our Father, as we look to the duties of this day and of the days ahead, we pledge Thee of our every talent and ability. We will reach out our hands and place them in Thine and will abide by the leadership of Thy Spirit. We know that Thy presence near us will quicken our own thinking and will empower our wills.

Help us to so carry on for this Nation and for the world in which we live that the life of the individual on this planet will become a happier, finer experience; that poverty and ignorance and suffering will sink into the background, and that the happiest day that man has ever known will come to pass in this earth.

And may the glory for this achievement be not ours primarily, and those who labor with us, but may the glory and the honor and the praise be Thy Son's whose we are and whom we serve. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 3199. An act making appropriations for the Department of Labor, the Federal Security Agency, and related independent agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the foregoing bill, requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. McKELLAR, Mr. MEAD, Mr. TYDINGS, Mr. MURDOCK, Mr. HAYDEN, Mr. BURTON, Mr. BALL, and Mr. WHERRY to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in